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LIFE AND LABOUR
OF THE
PEOPLE IN LONDON

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OF THE

PEOPLE IN LONDON

BY

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ASSISTED BY

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Final Volume

NOTES ON SOCIAL INFLUENCES

AND

CONCLUSION

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MAP OF INNER AND EAST LONDON... (*In a Pocket*)
(*Showing Places of Worship, Schools and Licensed Houses*)

MY WORK, NOW COMPLETED, HAS BEEN FROM FIRST TO LAST DEDICATED TO MY WIFE; WITHOUT WHOSE CONSTANT SYMPATHY, HELP AND CRITICISM, IT COULD NEVER HAVE BEEN BEGUN, CONTINUED, OR ENDED, AT ALL.

C. B.

NOTES ON SOCIAL INFLUENCES

AND

CONCLUSION

PART I

SOME COMPARISONS

§ 1

POVERTY AND CROWDING

In the introductory chapter of the Industrial Series of this work a social classification of the population is given, to which I would again refer. This classification, it may be remembered, made use of information gathered from the Official Census of 1891, being based, as regards those without servants upon their house accommodation, and for the rest upon the number of their domestic servants. In the volumes of the Industrial Series this classification was specially applied to those engaged in each trade ; but, as was pointed out at the time, it is equally available for local comparisons, and it is to these comparisons that I would now draw the attention of my readers. Though based on returns which are now some years old, they retain their interest, for the proportions between the classes are not likely to have changed much. Moreover, no similar attempt has since been made.

If I may borrow from the vocabulary of a more charming art, I would, in the opening phrases of my *finale*, introduce again the statistical *motif* of earlier volumes. Those whose souls are not attuned to figures, finding no harmony at all in their tabular arrangement, may, so to speak, stop their ears by passing lightly over these pages of my score.

I may first repeat the original tables of the social classification referred to above, together with comparisons between 'crowding' and 'poverty' as it applied to the whole population, and take this opportunity of reminding my readers of the somewhat arbitrary character of the meanings attached by me to these words,* the use of which some critics have attacked as leading to misconception.

In the 1891 Census, each occupier, or head of family living in less than five rooms, was asked to state the number of rooms occupied by his family, and the result is embodied in the following table:—

Rooms in tenement.	Number of tenements with less than five rooms.	Number of tenements occupied as under (London, 1891):											
		By: One,	Two,	Three,	Four,	Five,	Six,	Seven,	Eight,	Nine,	Ten,	Eleven,	Twe or m perso
One	172,502	60,114	55,766	29,005	16,111	7,409	2,871	879	231	72	27	10	
Two	189,707	16,106	46,075	40,168	32,486	24,013	15,526	8,863	4,195	1,590	488	138	
Three	153,189	5,522	27,246	29,151	26,796	22,657	17,293	11,953	7,078	3,446	1,377	470	
Four	115,171	1,864	12,049	16,645	18,896	18,175	16,294	12,801	8,952	5,203	2,573	1,150	
Total Tene-ments	630,569	83,606	141,136	114,969	94,289	72,254	51,984	34,496	20,456	10,311	4,465	1,768	
To'al Persons: 2,334,032		83,606	282,272	344,907	377,156	361,270	311,904	241,472	163,648	92,799	44,650	19,448	†10,

NOTE.—In the Census Reports those living *more than* two to a room are classed as 'over crowded,' and same rule has been adopted by others. The line I have drawn is in effect much the same, but I do not use the t 'over crowded,' merely counting those living *not less than* two to a room as 'crowded,' with the result I include, while the others do not, those whose accommodation is exactly at the rate of half a room to each pers

These 630,569 tenements constituted 67·3 per cent. of the 937,606 of every grade scheduled, and housed over 55 per cent. of the total population of London. The tenement or house may be but one room, and its household a single occupant; but even if there are boarders, these do not usually obtain separate schedules. As a rule, it may be taken that those by whom or for whom 'the kitchen fire is used' form one census family.

* See *Life and Labour*, 'Poverty,' Vol. I., p. 33, and 'Industry,' Vol. I., p. 10.

† Estimated.

[A comparison can now be made with a similar return for 1901. Between 1891 and 1901 the number of occupied tenements increased from 937,606 to 1,019,546 (or 8·7 per cent.), and of this total, 672,030 (or 65·9) contained less than five rooms, the numbers so housed being slightly over 54 per cent. of the population as compared to 55·4 per cent. in 1891. The following table gives the particulars:—

Rooms in tenement.	Number of tenements with less than five rooms.	Number of tenements occupied as under (London, 1901): By: One,	Two,	Three,	Four,	Five,	Six,	Seven,	Eight,	Nine,	Ten,	Eleven,	Twelve or more persons.
One	149,524	60,421	48,341	23,680	11,279	4,001	1,257	384	103	39	10	3	6
Two	201,431	16,148	52,369	46,782	35,828	23,885	14,508	7,283	3,055	1,118	328	101	26
Three	181,542	6,288	35,070	39,252	32,954	25,392	18,607	12,026	6,820	3,269	1,251	410	203
Four	139,533	2,252	15,360	22,905	24,839	22,824	18,424	13,871	9,330	5,371	2,733	1,110	514
Total Tenements	672,030	85,109	151,140	132,619	104,970	76,102	52,796	33,564	19,308	9,797	4 322	1,624	719
Total Persons: 2,450,601		85,109	302,280	397,857	419,600	380,510	316,776	234,948	154,464	88,173	43,220	17,864	*9,800

These figures indicate considerable progress in the ten years. While the whole population enumerated increased 7·3 per cent., the number of occupied tenements increased 8·7 per cent., showing that there were fewer occupants per tenement; and the average tenement also probably contained more rooms, since only 65·9 per cent. of them were of less than five rooms in place of 67·3 per cent., besides which those housed in small tenements at all were a smaller proportion of the population, being 54 per cent. as compared to 55 per cent. The improvement is yet more marked when we compare the details, for while one-room tenements have *decreased* from 172,502 to 149,524, or 14 per cent., two-room, three-room, and four-room tenements have *increased* 16 per cent., 18 per cent., and 21 per cent. respectively. In every way there is considerably less crowding than ten years ago. Among one-room tenements there are fewer of all such as have more than one inmate, and among two-room tenements of all those that contain five or more persons, and it is the same with three rooms containing eight or more persons, and with four rooms containing twelve or more, while the numbers of one-room tenements occupied by only one person, of two-room tenements by only two persons, of three rooms by three and of four rooms by only four persons, all show an increase. All this, if we take into account also the total increase of population, marks a considerable improvement in housing conditions on the whole. It indicates a population that is ready to appreciate and take advantage of the opportunities offered.]

* Estimated

In the following table the whole population is classified either by the number of rooms occupied or by the number of servants kept, and will be found to explain itself. But again I would fain meet criticism, and if possible avoid misconception. It is not to be supposed that statistics such as these are correct to the last figure. They are given in their present form as being less arbitrary than rounding off by hundreds or by thousands. My reasons for believing them to have as much accuracy as any other figures published in the Census, are given in the volume of the Industrial Series to which I have already referred:—

Classification of the whole Population of London (1891) *by Number of Rooms Occupied or of Servants Kept.*

I. WITHOUT SERVANTS.

Families of	Total Persons.		Families of	Total Persons.	
(CLASS 1.)			(CLASS 4.)		
Over 10 persons living in 1 room	267		1 person living in 1 room . .	58,670	
10 persons living in 1 room . .	280		3 persons living in 2 rooms . .	123,738	
9 ,, ,,	684		2 ,, ,,	93,900	
8 ,, ,,	1,904		5 ,, 3 rooms . .	116,285	962,780 or 23·0 %
7 ,, ,,	6,363		4 ,, ,,	110,824	
6 ,, ,,	17,218	187,921 or 4·4 %	3 ,, ,,	88,704	
5 ,, ,,	37,625		7 ,, 4 rooms . .	93,814	
4 ,, ,,	65,052		6 ,, ,,	102,234	
Over 10 persons living in 2 rooms	2,567		5 ,, ,,	94,835	
10 persons living in 2 rooms . .	5,030		4 ,, ,,	79,796	
9 ,, ,,	14,373				
8 ,, ,,	34,040				
Over 11 persons living in 3 rooms	2,518				
(CLASS 2.)			(CLASS 5.)		
3 persons living in 1 room . .	88,134		1 person living in 2 rooms . .	15,725	
7 ,, 2 rooms . .	63,126		2 persons living in 3 rooms . .	54,838	
6 ,, ,,	94,758	304,449 or 7·2 %	1 person living in 3 rooms . .	5,299	153,471 or 3·7 %
11 ,, 3 rooms . .	5,335		3 persons living in 4 rooms . .	51,303	
10 ,, ,,	14,270		2 ,, ,,	24,520	
9 ,, ,,	31,685		1 person living in 4 rooms . .	1,786	
Over 11 persons living in 4 rooms	7,141				
(CLASS 3.)			(CLASS 6.)		
2 persons living in 1 room . .	112,620				
5 ,, 2 rooms . .	121,980		All families living in more than 4 rooms	—	981,553 or 23·3 %
4 ,, ,,	132,612				
8 ,, 3 rooms . .	57,776				
7 ,, ,,	85,379	781,615 or 18·5 %			
6 ,, ,,	106,734				
11 ,, 4 rooms . .	13,123		Total of families without servants	—	3,371,789 or 80·1 %
10 ,, ,,	27,130				
9 ,, ,,	48,861				
8 ,, ,,	75,400				

II. WITH SERVANTS.

Families of	Total Persons		Families of	Total Persons.	
(CLASS *a*.)			**(CLASS *d*.)**		
Over 10 persons with 1 servant	14,261		4 persons with 3 servants	5,751	
10 persons with 1 servant	10,990		3 „ „	4,623	18,805
9 „ „	16,875		6 persons with 4 servants.	2,400	or
8 „ „	24,952	227,832	5 „ „	2,575	0·4 %
7 „ „	33,446	or	7 or more persons with 5 servants	3,465	
6 „ „	40,368	5·5 %	**(CLASS *e*.)**		
5 „ „	44,160		1 or 2 persons with 3 servants	3,930	
4 „ „	42,580		3 or 4 „ 4 „	4,382	13,358
(CLASS *b*.)			5 or 6 „ 5 „	2,301	or
3 persons with 1 servant	34,143		7 or more persons with 6 servts.	2,745	0·3 %
2 „ „	20 528		**(CLASS *f*.)**		
1 person with 1 servant	4,110		1 or 2 persons with 4 servants	1,497	
Over 10 persons with 2 servants	7,467		3 or 4 „ 5 „	2,164	
10 persons with 2 servants.	4 600	144.115	5 or 6 „ 6 „	1,411	7,095
9 „ „	6,579	or	6 or 7 „ 7 „	503	or
8 „ „	9,160	3·4 %	And other large families where number of servants nearly equals the members of family	1,520	0·2 %
7 „ „	12,166		**(CLASS *g*.)**		
6 „ „	14,700		1 or 2 persons with 5 servants	741	
5 „ „	15,730		3 or 4 „ 6 „	1,320	
4 „ „	14,932		4 or 5 „ 7 „	836	3,026
(CLASS *c*.)			And other families with 8 or more servants where the members of the family equal the number of servants	229	or 0·1 %
3 persons with 2 servants	12,237		**(CLASS *h*.)**		
2 „ „	8,302		1 or 2 persons with 6 servants	—	
1 person with 2 servants	2,446		1, 2, or 3 persons with 7 servts.		4,344
Over 10 persons with 3 servants	3 657		And all families with more than 8 servants where the members of the family are less in number than the servants	—	or 0·1 %
10 persons with 3 servants.	2,030				
9 „ „	2,070		Total of families with servants		476,325
8 „ „	3.424	57,750			or
7 „ „	4,375	or			11·3 %
6 „ „	5,130	1·3 %			
5 „ „	5 745				
Over 10 persons with 4 servants	2.109				
10 persons with 4 servants.	830				
9 „ „	990				
8 „ „	1,496				
7 „ „	2,009				

III. OTHERS.

Servants in families :—					
Where there is only 1 servant	64,677				
Where there are 2 servants	52,130				
„ „ 3 „	29.955	205.858	Total of others	—	363,629
„ „ 4 „	17,240	or			or
Where there are more than 4 servants	32,223	4.9 %			8·6 %
Servants in institutions, hotels, &c.	9,633				
Inmates of hotels, &c.	25,726		Total population	—	..4,211,743
„ common lodging houses, &c.	20,087	157,771			
„ large shops, &c..	15,321	or			
„ institutions	96,637	3·7 %			

The foregoing figures may be summarized as follows :—

3,371,789,	*80·1*	per cent.,	without servants.
476,325,	*11·3*	„	with servants.
205,858,	*4·9*	„	servants.
157,771,	*3·7*	„	inmates of institutions, &c.
4,211,743,	*100*	„	

and may be conveniently restated as follows :—

Without Servants.						Servants.	Living in Institutions, Common Lodging-houses, &c.	Tota
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)			
4 or more persons per room.	3 or less than 4 persons per room.	2 or less than 3 persons per room.	1 & less than 2 persons per room.	Less than 1 person per room.	Over four rooms.			
187,921	304,449	781,615	962,780	153,471	981,553	205,858	132,045	3,709,
4·4 %	*7·2 %*	*18·5 %*	*23·0 %*	*3·7 %*	*23·3 %*	*4·9 %*	*3·1 %*	*88·1*

With Servants.								Living in hotels, &c.	Tot
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)		
1 servant for 4 or more persons.	2 servants for 4 or more, 1-3, or less persons.	2 servants for 3 or less persons, &c.	Servants fewer than those served (other).	Servants about equal in numbers to those served.	4 servants for 1 or 2 persons, &c.	5 servants for 1 or 2 persons, &c.	6 servants for 1 or 2 persons, &c.		
227,832	144,115	57,750	18,805	13,358	7,095	3,026	4,344	25,726	502,
5·5 %	*3·4 %*	*1·3 %*	*0·4 %*	*0·3 %*	*0·2 %*	*0·1 %*	*0·1 %*	*0·6 %*	*11·9*

Grand Total . . . 4,211,74

In Volume II. of the Poverty Series the whole population (over-estimated at the time at 4,309,000) is divided and described as follows:—

		Per cent.	Per cent.
Classes A and B (the very poor) .	354,444 or	8·4	(In poverty)
„ C „ D (the poor) . . .	938,293 or	22·3	30·7
„ E „ F (comfortable working class, including all servants . . .	2,166,503 or	51·5	(In comfort) 69·3
„ G „ H ("lower middle," "middle" and "upper classes")	749,930 or	17·8	
	4,209,170		
Inmates of institutions . .	99,830		
	4,309,000		(estimated poulation, 1889)

And with this a fairly close comparison may now be made:—

			Per cent.	Per cent.
Poor	(1 and 2) 3 or more persons per room	492,370 or	—	12·0 (Crowded, 31·5)
Poor	(3) 2 and under 3 persons per room	781,615 or	19·0	19·5
Poor	Common lodging houses, &c. .	20,087 or	0·5	
Central	(4) 1 and under 2 persons per room	962,780 or	23·4	
Central	(5) Less than 1 person per room	153,471 or	3·7	
Central	(6) Occupying more than 4 rooms	981,553 or	23·9	56·4
Central	Servants	205,858 or	5·0	
Central	Persons living in large shops, &c.	15,321 or	0·4	(Not crowded, 68·5)
Upper	(*a*) 4 or more persons to 1 servant	227,832 or	5·5	
Upper	(*b*) to (*h*) 3 or less persons to 1 servant	248,493 or	6·0	12·1
Upper	Inmates of hotels and boarding houses where servants are kept	25,726 or	0·6	
		4,115,106		100
Inmates of Institutions . .		96,637		
		4,211,743		

The percentages for 'crowded' and 'not crowded' agree very nearly with those for 'in poverty' and 'in comfort,' but no such absolute comparison can be made as the figures might suggest. Living in close quarters is no certain test of poverty, and accordingly while some districts are more crowded than they are poor, others are plainly more poor than they are crowded. It is only when we take the large average provided by the whole area of London, or by districts which represent this average, that we obtain such an agreement as is shown above.

So far I have drawn upon the earlier volume already referred to. I need not repeat the detailed comparisons made between the previous and the later classification as regards the whole population; but will pass on to those which may be made on the same basis regarding different parts of London. For this purpose, in a paper read by myself before the Royal Statistical Society in 1893, the thirty registration districts were the areas selected, but some of these are inconveniently large and not sufficiently homogeneous units for useful comparison. By a re-grouping of the sub-districts, for all of which separate statistics are published by the Registrar-General, these irregularities have been to some extent obviated, and the whole metropolitan area divided into fifty districts fairly convenient for comparison.

These districts are set forth below, commencing with those in which the percentage living under crowded conditions exceeds that of those living in apparent poverty, and ending with those in which this is reversed. The special character of the districts usually explains the apparent discrepancy.

The greatest excess of crowding is in the parts adjacent to Tottenham Court Road, a district which does not show poverty in any great degree. Here rents are high, and the people in order to live near their work, which is

local, have to be content with very scanty accommodation. Many, too, are foreigners, who look rather to restaurant or café than to their home in leisure hours. St. Giles's, combined here with the Strand, shows an equal amount of crowding, but it is accompanied by much more poverty clinging to the neighbourhood of Drury Lane. And in Soho, which would seem very similar to the Tottenham Court Road district as to the rental difficulty, the result is disguised by the unavoidable inclusion of the parish of St. James lying between Regent Circus and Pall Mall. Again, we find a great excess of actual crowding over apparent poverty in Christ Church, Marylebone: poverty and wealth lying here very near together, with high rents and a super-abundance of charitable assistance.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Tottenham Court Road	48 %	21¼%
St. Giles's and Strand	46 %	30½%
Soho and St. James's	40¾%	36 %
Christ Church, Marylebone	51 %	31 %

Excess of crowding is apparent also in Whitechapel, where, though poverty is considerable, the crowding is far greater, due to the low standard in this respect of even fairly well-to-do foreign Jews. In Spitalfields the percentage of crowding reaches 67 per cent.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Whitechapel	53 %	33 %

Somers Town, which is no less crowded than the parts near Tottenham Court Road, is much poorer; and is itself out-done in both respects by Lambeth; but in both there is less poverty than crowding, due to the pressure on house room by the needs of business and railway extension. This crowded condition is shared by Chelsea, North and South, which, with relatively much less crowding and poverty, shows a similar proportionate excess when these conditions are compared, the pressure in this case being mainly due to the increasing demand for flats on the eastern border.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Somers Town and E. Regent's Park	47½%	33 %
Lambeth	48 %	36 %
Chelsea	33¾%	19¾%

The amount of crowding and its excess over poverty are somewhat smaller in Kentish Town, St. John's Wood, and Paddington and Kensal Town than in the preceding group. For St. John's Wood the figures are considerably affected by the inclusion of the comparatively poor area of Portland Town, and so also, the figures for Paddington would show an exceptional measure of local variation had a closer analysis been attempted, the district, which includes many of the well-to-do, containing at least two well-defined areas of poverty and crowding. The crowding in Kentish Town is partly explained by the absorption of building land for railway expansion, and partly by the general accessibility of the whole district, various important centres of employment being within easy reach.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Kentish Town	35·5 %	27·1 %
St. John's Wood	38·7 %	32·2 %
Paddington and Kensal Town	31·6 %	26·7 %

Bethnal Green, Hoxton and Haggerston, Old Street and South Shoreditch, with Gray's Inn and Clerkenwell, forming one large contiguous district, show the maximum of crowding combined with a high poverty rate; but throughout the whole area the crowding is in excess by 8 or 9 points in the percentage; rents here are high, and the standard of life very low.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Bethnal Green	55 %	47 %
Hoxton and Haggerston	51¼%	41 %
Old St. and S. Shoreditch	57 %	48 %
Gray's Inn and Clerkenwell	53¼%	45 %

The crowding shown in the rich districts lying round about Hyde Park is undoubtedly connected with coachmen's quarters over their stables.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
St. Margaret's and Belgrave	25 %	15½%
Mayfair and North of Hyde Park	23½%	14 %
Brompton	12½%	5 %

With St. John's, Westminster, on the north, and St. Saviour's and Waterloo on the south of the Thames, we return to extremes of poverty, combined with extremes of crowding; the latter district standing (as it always

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
St. John's, Westminster	52 %	44½%
St. Saviour's and Waterloo	54 %	52 %

does) in the worst average position (54 per cent. and 52 per cent.), the next in order being Old Street and South Shoreditch (57 per cent. and 48 per cent.).

As St. Saviour's represents an even balance between poverty and crowding where both are at their worst, so also does Hampstead at the better end of the scale, with 14 per cent. of poverty and 16 per cent. of crowding. The City of London also holds the balance even, while Newington and Walworth has about 35 per cent. of each, and Kensington Town, 33 per cent. Both of these are thickly populated districts. In Fulham, poverty goes hand in hand with crowding in the creation of new slums.

	Crowding.		*Poverty.*
Hampstead	16 %	..	14 %
City of London	33 %	..	31½%
Newington and Walworth	35½%	..	35 %
Kensington Town	33 %	..	33 %
Fulham	26½%	..	25½%

At this point crowding begins to yield the lead to poverty, but it is not till we reach the more inaccessible portions of South London that this change is very marked.

Brixton and the neighbourhood of South Camberwell compare closely with Hampstead in the north, although somewhat less crowded and more poor, but while the elevated ground of the northern suburb is the home of the servant-keeping classes, in the southern districts the great central classes form the bulk of the population. At Streatham, Norwood, and Dulwich, and Lewisham, Sydenham, and Eltham, where the land is yet largely unbuilt upon, and where there is also little poverty, the amount of crowding sinks to a minimum.

	Crowding.		*Poverty.*
Brixton, &c.	13 %	..	15½%
S. Camberwell & E. Dulwich	11 %	..	15½%
Lewisham, &c.	7 %	..	15½%
Streatham, &c.	7 %	..	16 %

Poplar, Bow and Bromley, and Mile End Old Town on the north, compare very closely with East Battersea on the south-west and Rotherhithe on the south-east; crowding being nearly on the same level as the apparent poverty in each of these self-contained industrial districts.

	Crowding.		*Poverty.*
Poplar	33½%	..	37½%
Bow and Bromley	30 %	..	36 %
Mile End Old Town	36½%	..	31 %
Battersea (East)	31½%	..	36 %
Rotherhithe	32 %	..	40 %

Only in Mile End is the crowding any greater than the poverty.

So, too, Upper Holloway in the north compares closely with Kennington in the south as a residential district.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Upper Holloway	25 %	28½%
Kennington	25¾%	29¼%

While Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill may be compared with Clapham, Hackney may, perhaps, be likened to Hammersmith, which, though north of the Thames, is at the opposite corner of the map, and very similar in degree of development.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Stoke Newington	13⅓%	18⅓%
Clapham	14 %	19 %
Hackney	21⅓%	24⅓%
Hammersmith	23 %	26 %

Bermondsey, on the south side, answers to St. George's East on the opposite bank, with the difference that the one shows proportionately more poverty and the other more crowding; the greater crowding in St. George's being partly attributable to the presence of the Jews.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Bermondsey	44⅓%	50 %
St. George's East	54 %	45 %

North Camberwell compares most nearly with Islington opposite, but, as usual, there is more crowding to the north and more poverty to the south of the Thames.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
North Camberwell	30½%	41⅓%
Islington	40 %	37 %

Peckham and Nunhead to the east may be compared usefully with West Battersea, and again the circumstances largely repeat themselves.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Peckham and Nunhead	18½%	33 %
Battersea (West)	18¾%	30¾%

Wandsworth and Putney show singularly little crowding compared to poverty. This feature is probably explained by geographical position, but it is possible that the poverty has been overestimated.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Wandsworth and Putney	12 %	26 %

There remain Deptford, Greenwich, and Woolwich, showing very uniform results. They have no counterparts elsewhere; the conditions, industrial and social, in these quarters of London being unique.

	Crowding.	*Poverty.*
Deptford	20 %	34 %
Greenwich	18¼%	36½%
Woolwich	20⅝%	28 %

On the whole this comparison yields a picture of expansion in all directions, following lines and laws so definite as to provide a stable basis for action, and to remove all excuse for want of preparation. But action may be difficult, and is certain to be complicated in some directions by the overrunning of the boundaries of the County of London and by the division and possibly the conflict of authority thus entailed. The extension of the County area, or some arrangement which shall secure uniformity of standard as between its own and all adjacent local administrations, is one of the problems awaiting London, and Greater London, in the near future.

§ 2

BIRTH-RATE AND DEATH-RATE

The effect of poverty and crowding upon births and deaths is a subject of the greatest importance, and upon it some light may now be thrown. As to births, I have taken the annual average of the five years 1891-5 for the fifty districts already named, and the rate has been calculated on the mean of the population returns 1891 and 1896. For the death-rate, the actual number of deaths have been obtained for 1894 and 1895, and the mean of these two years taken on the same basis of population. Special investigation (kindly permitted by the Registrar-General) was needed to adjust the deaths in hospitals, infirmaries and other institutions to the districts from which the patients had come. Only with regard to those who had been for a long time inmates of asylums or workhouses, does any error creep in, and to meet this an estimated allowance has been made.

That poverty and crowding go together on the whole we have already seen, and it was to be expected that they should. We can now point to other related conditions less easily foreseen, and show that both birth-rate and death-rate are high in proportion to the degree of poverty and crowding. The following table indicates this, but it is perhaps still more clearly shown by the chart facing page 18.

In both table and chart (as also in an accompanying map) the fifty districts into which London has been divided are arranged in the combined order of these four tests of social condition, and it will be seen how slightly these individual tests vary from their mean.*

* See note on the chart for an explanation of the method on which it has been framed.

TABLE OF DISTRICTS ARRANGED IN ORDER OF SOCIAL CONDITION

District.	Order of Poverty, 52 % to 5 %.	Order of Crowding, 57 % to 7 %.	Order of Birth-rate, 43½ % to 13½ %.	Order of Death-rate, 25½ % to 11 %.	Combined Order
Waterloo and St. Saviour's	1—52·0	3—54·1	3—39·4	2—24·7	1
Old Street and South Shoreditch	3—47·7	1—57·1	2—39·9	4—24·0	2
S. George's in East and Shadwell	6—44·8	4—53·7	8—36·6	1—25·4	3
Bethnal Green	4—47·0	2—55·0	4—38·9	12—21·2	4
Whitechapel, Spitalfields, &c.	22—33·1	6—53·1	1—43·3	7—22·4	5
Bermondsey	2—50·2	14—44·6	7—37·3	8—22·3	6
Hoxton and Haggerston	9—40·9	8—51·3	6—37·6	9—22·1	7
Lambeth	13—36·6	10—48·3	5—38·3	6—23·1	8
Gray's Inn and Clerkenwell	5—45·0	5—53·5	21—31·6	13—21·1	9
St. John's, Westminster	7—44·7	7—52·2	27—30·0	15—21·1	10
Poplar and Limehouse	11—37·6	22—33·5	13—35·1	5—23·4	11
Christ Church, Marylebone	26—31·1	9—51·2	34—26·7	3—24·5	12
Newington and Walworth	18—35·0	20—35·4	11—35·7	10—21·9	13
Somers Town and East Side Regent's Park	21—33·1	12—47·7	22—31·3	18—20·2	14
Rotherhithe	10—40·2	25—31·9	12—35·4	20—20·0	15
North Camberwell	8—44·5	28—30·3	15—34·8	23—19·4	16
Bow and Bromley	16—36·1	29—30·0	9—36·1	17—20·5	17
Mile End Old Town	27—31·0	18—36·3	16—34·3	14—21·1	18
Islington	12—37·3	16—40·2	23—31·2	26—18·0	19
St. Giles's and Strand	29—30·5	13—45·9	38—25·0	11—21·4	20
Battersea (East)	17—35·9	27—31·5	14—34·9	31—17·6	21
St. John's Wood	24—32·2	17—38·7	37—25·2	16—20·7	22
Fulham	37—25·4	30—26·6	10—35·9	21—19·9	23
Deptford	19—34·6	37—20·4	18—32·5	24—19·1	24
Soho and St. James's	15—36·2	15—40·6	42—22·9	37—17·0	25
Kentish Town	33—27·1	19—35·5	28—29·9	30—17·8	26
Kennington	30—29·6	31—25·7	17—34·0	34—17·1	27
Kensington Town	23—32·8	24—32·9	36—25·4	28—17·9	28
Peckham and Nunhead	20—33·4	40—18·6	20—31·7	25—18·8	29
Tottenham Court Road	39—21·3	11—48·0	44—22·1	27—18·0	30
Greenwich	14—36·4	41—18·4	26—30·4	29—17·9	31
Chelsea	41—19·3	21—33·6	33—27·8	22—19·7	32
Paddington and Kensal Town	34—26·7	26—31·6	30—29·2	36—17·0	33
City of London	25—31·5	23—33·1	49—17·5	19—20·0	34
Battersea (West)	28—30·8	39—18·7	24—31·0	35—17·0	35
Upper Holloway	31—28·8	33—25·1	29—29·3	41—16·0	36
Hammersmith	35—26·0	35—23·0	31—29·1	33—17·5	37
Woolwich and Plumstead	32—27·9	38—20·2	19—31·9	39—16·4	38
Hackney (excluding Stamford Hill)	38—24·3	36—21·4	25—30·5	32—17·5	39
St. Margaret's, Westminster, and Belgrave	47—15·5	32—25·2	45—21·0	38—16·7	40
South Camberwell and East Dulwich	46—15·7	48—11·3	32—27·8	40—16·1	41
Wandsworth and Putney	36—26·0	47—12·0	46—20·9	42—15·5	42
Clapham	40—19·4	43—13·9	41—24·3	44—15·0	43
Brixton	45—15·7	45—13·2	35—25·6	43—15·3	44
Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill	42—18·5	44—13·4	39—24·8	46—13·5	45
Mayfair and parts of Marylebone and Paddington	49—14·0	34—23·6	48—18·5	47—13·4	46
Lewisham, Sydenham & Eltham	44—15·8	50— 7·0	40—24·7	45—13·5	47
Hampstead	48—14·2	42—16·1	47—20·6	49—12·0	48
Streatham, Norwood & Dulwich	43—16·6	49— 7·2	43—22·8	48—12·5	49
Brompton	50— 4·9	46—12·3	50—13·5	50—10·9	50

The vagaries as between poverty and crowding have been already mentioned. They are in the main caused by difference in rates of rental, and (closely connected therewith) by the necessity in certain employments for the workers to live near their work. But habit and the accepted standard of life in different districts, or amongst different classes or races, and perhaps other causes, have also their effect.

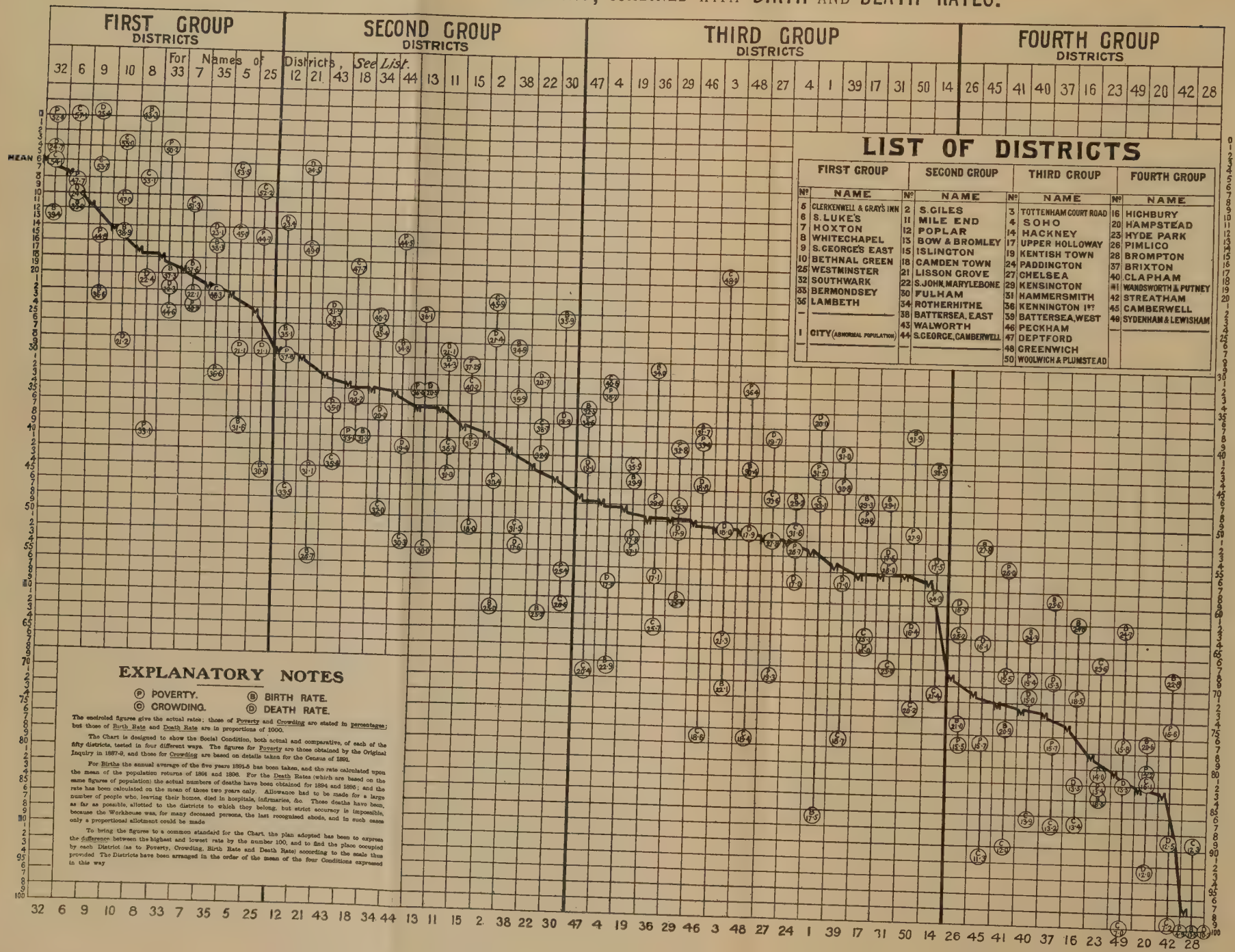
As regards birth-rate and death-rate, though as a rule they follow the same order as that indicated by the combined test, there are exceptions which may easily be noted by merely glancing down the columns.

In St. George's in the East and Shadwell the death-rate is at its highest, although this district stands only fourth in crowding, sixth in poverty, and eighth in its birth-rate. For this discrepancy there is no very obvious explanation. It is, however, probable that the high death-rate has been connected with the intermittent and exposed character of much river-side labour, and that as this tends to improve in status and decline in volume, and to be accompanied by an influx of foreign Jews, the relative figures will in all likelihood approximate to those of Whitechapel, a district which, besides being far less poor than it is crowded, has a very high birth-rate undoubtedly due to the Jewish population, and proportionately an extremely low death-rate.

Bethnal Green stands about fourth in everything except death-rate, which is as unaccountably low as that of St. George's in the East is high. Bermondsey, less crowded than it is poor, is otherwise quite normal.

St. John, Westminster, and Christ Church, Marylebone, show low birth-rates, partly due to the absence of ordinary family life amongst the lodging-house population, and to a similar tendency among the wealthier flat dwellers ; these classes forming a considerable element in the population of each district. Clerkenwell, Tottenham Court Road and Soho, St. Giles

CHART SHOWING COMPARATIVE SOCIAL CONDITION OF LONDON IN 50 DISTRICTS (SEE INDEX MAP) AS TESTED BY POVERTY AND CROWDING, COMBINED WITH BIRTH AND DEATH RATES.



LIST OF DISTRICTS

FIRST GROUP		SECOND GROUP		THIRD GROUP		FOURTH GROUP	
№	NAME	№	NAME	№	NAME	№	NAME
5	CLERKENWELL & GRAY'S INN	2	S. GILES	3	TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD	16	HIGHBURY
6	S. LUKE'S	11	MILE END	4	SOHO	20	HAMPSTEAD
7	HOXTON	12	POPLAR	14	HACKNEY	23	HYDE PARK
8	WHITECHAPEL	13	BOW & BROMLEY	17	UPPER HOLLOWAY	26	PIMLICO
9	S. GEORGE'S EAST	15	ISLINGTON	19	KENTISH TOWN	28	BROMPTON
10	BETHNAL GREEN	18	CAMDEN TOWN	24	PADDINGTON	37	BRIXTON
25	WESTMINSTER	21	LISSON GROVE	27	CHELSEA	40	CLAPHAM
32	SOUTHWARK	22	S. JOHN, MARYLEBONE	29	KENSINGTON	41	WANDSWORTH & PUTNEY
33	BERMONDSEY	30	FULHAM	31	HAMMERSMITH	42	STREATHAM
35	LAMBETH	34	ROTHERHITHE	36	KENNINGTON 1ST	45	CAMBERWELL
		38	BATTERSEA, EAST	39	BATTERSEA, WEST	49	SYDENHAM & LEWISHAM
1	CITY (ABNORMAL POPULATION)	43	WALWORTH	46	PECKHAM		
		44	S. GEORGE, CAMBERWELL	47	DEPTFORD		
				48	GREENWICH		
				50	WOOLWICH & PLUMSTEAD		

EXPLANATORY NOTES

(P) POVERTY. (B) BIRTH RATE.
(C) CROWDING. (D) DEATH RATE.

The encircled figures give the actual rates; those of Poverty and Crowding are stated in percentages; but those of Birth Rate and Death Rate are in proportions of 1000.

The Chart is designed to show the Social Condition, both actual and comparative, of each of the fifty districts, tested in four different ways. The figures for Poverty are those obtained by the Original Inquiry in 1887-9, and those for Crowding are based on details taken for the Census of 1891.

For Births the annual average of the five years 1891-5 has been taken, and the rate calculated upon the mean of the population returns of 1891 and 1896. For the Death Rates (which are based on the same figures of population) the actual numbers of deaths have been obtained for 1894 and 1895; and the rate has been calculated on the mean of those two years only. Allowance had to be made for a large number of people who, leaving their homes, died in hospitals, infirmaries, &c. These deaths have been, as far as possible, allotted to the districts to which they belong, but strict accuracy is impossible, because the Workhouse was, for many deceased persons, the last recognised abode, and in such cases only a proportional allotment could be made

To bring the figures to a common standard for the Chart, the plan adopted has been to express the difference between the highest and lowest rate by the number 100, and to find the place occupied by each District (as to Poverty, Crowding, Birth Rate and Death Rate) according to the scale thus provided The Districts have been arranged in the order of the mean of the four Conditions expressed in this way

LIST OF DISTRICTS.

NO.	NAME.
	FIRST GROUP.
5	Clerkenwell and Gray's Inn
6	S. Lukes
7	Hoxton
8	Whitechapel
9	S. George's East
10	Bethnal Green
25	Westminster
32	Southwark
33	Bermondsey
35	Lambeth
	SECOND GROUP.
2	S. Giles
11	Mile End
12	Poplar
13	Bow and Bromley
15	Islington
18	Camden Town
21	Lisson Grove
22	S. John, Marylebone
30	Fulham
34	Rotherhithe
38	Battersea, East
43	Walworth
44	S. George, Camberwell
1	City (Abnormal Population)

NO.	NAME
	THIRD GROUP.
3	Tottenham Court Road
4	Soho
14	Hackney
17	Upper Holloway
19	Kentish Town
24	Paddington
27	Chelsea
29	Kensington
31	Hammersmith
36	Kennington 1st
39	Battersea, West
46	Peckham
47	Deptford
48	Greenwich
50	Woolwich & Plumstead
	FOURTH GROUP.
16	Highbury
20	Hampstead
23	Hyde Park
26	Pimlico
28	Brompton
37	Brixton
40	Clapham
41	Wandsworth & Putney
42	Streatham
45	Camberwell
49	Sydenham & Lewisham

and the Strand, also show low birth-rates, due in these instances to the presence of foreigners of many nationalities, and other more or less temporary residents, both rich and poor, partly the hangers-on of a vast amusement and pleasure-seeking public, and partly that public itself, contributing on the whole much less than the average amount of normal family life. These districts may be contrasted in this respect with such typical English working-class localities as North Camberwell, Rotherhithe, Bow and Bromley, where the birth-rate is proportionately high; or still more with Woolwich and Plumstead, or with Kennington, Battersea East and West, and Fulham, where there is a newly settled population showing in every case a wholesomely high birth-rate and comparatively low death-rate. On the other hand, in St. John's Wood the conditions of life are rather against a high birth-rate.

It has appeared from the preceding table that the birth-rate in these fifty districts ranges from 43·3 to 13·5 (per 1000 population per annum), and the connection of a high birth-rate with poverty and crowding has been shown, but it may not have been fully realized that the rate is about twice as high in all the central and poorer portions—that is, in Old Street and South Shoreditch, in Hoxton, Haggerston and Bethnal Green, in Whitechapel and St. George's in the East, in St. Saviour's and Waterloo, in Bermondsey and in Lambeth—as it is in the regions lying round Hyde Park and in wealthy outlying districts such as Hampstead and Putney, Streatham and Norwood. Between these extremes, subject only to exceptions due to the presence of foreign or temporary residents, the gradation follows strictly the line of class. The lower the class the earlier the period of marriage, and the greater the number of children born to each marriage.

The class divisions we have made are mainly, though not entirely, based on degrees of apparent poverty, or the reverse; and as we descend the scale and find

marriage earlier and children more numerous, it may well be questioned whether these features are more the causes or the consequence of the poverty that accompanies them. To my mind, while no doubt to some extent a cause, they appear more definitely as consequences. Marriage is early for social or industrial reasons, and not, as a rule, on account of recklessness, while the number of births follows almost inevitably from physical causes, partly the vigour of youth and partly the influence on physique, both with men and women, of bodily labour and a spare diet. Mental characteristics and customary habits tend in the same direction, and no reasonably possible exercise of prudence can be expected to stand against the stream. Not in this direction can we look for a solution of the problem of poverty.

The connection which is presented between birth-rate and death-rate affords more hope. The higher death-rate in the poor districts is mainly due to heavy mortality among babies and young children ; later, the chances of life, though varying with the character of the employment in each class, are fairly equal, comparing one class with another. There can, I think, be no doubt that the death of a child, especially if it be a baby, does tend to bring about the birth of another. If child mortality could be checked the birth-rate would certainly be reduced, and a terrible waste of every kind would be prevented. I shall return to this subject in studying and comparing the natural rate of increase shown by each class. The exactness of the relation between births and deaths is certainly remarkable. The same eight poor central districts represent practically the highest level in both cases, while those with lowest birth-rates appear also as lowest in death-rate.

The extent of variation in the death-rates is again startling, being from 25·4 to 10·9 per 1000. As with the birth-rates, the highest level is more than double

that of the lowest. Nor is this all. The lowest rates shown here will probably have been raised somewhat by the presence, even in these well-to-do districts, of some patches of poverty, and the highest rates fall far short of the figures which smaller areas of low life would show. To detailed statistics of this kind bearing on their work, much attention is being given by many of the medical officers of health in poor districts. The facts are terrible, and the difficulties in the way of successful administration are great. The list I have given may perhaps provide a basis for further comparative inquiry, which shall test not only the existing conditions, but show conclusively the results of remedial and preventive action.

Both birth-rate and death-rate need to be studied closely with reference to the age distribution of the population, which in London varies very much, being affected by movements both within and from without the Metropolitan area; and it is probable that these many discrepancies would be explained, but the statistics are difficult and complicated, and I am not able to enter upon them in detail. I may, however, point to some lines of inquiry which bear upon the subject, such as the proportion of young married women in populations of differing class, and parallel with this to the extent of the surplus or deficiency of unmarried but marriageable males compared to unmarried marriageable females; and can go on to compare the apparent natural rate of increase in each class by excess of births over deaths, and note the bearing on this of the death-rate amongst infants and young children.

In the table which follows I combine the statistics as regards early marriage on which the order of the table has been based, with the relative numbers of the unmarried but marriageable of each sex, and note such local explanations as occur. I count as marriageable those between the ages of twenty and forty-five.

SOME COMPARISONS

TABLE OF EARLY MARRIAGES.

(From 1891 Census).

Combined Order of Poverty, &c.	Present Order.	Number of Married Women under 25 years of age (per 10,000 population) in the under-mentioned districts.		Surplus of unmarried but marriageable per 10,000 population (including widows and widowers).		Partly explained by	Domesti servant per 10,000 po
				Males.	Females.		
5	(1)	Whitechapel and Spitalfields	261	274	—	Common lodging houses and shelters.	115
4	(2)	Bethnal Green	235	146	—		46
1	(3)	St. Saviour's and Waterloo	228	327	—	C. L. houses and shelters.	97
8	(4)	Lambeth	225	200	—		67
3	(5)	St. George's in the East ..	225	467	—	C. L. houses and shelters.	104
13	(6)	Newington and Walworth..	220	153	—		98
6	(7)	Bermondsey	218	295	—	C. L. houses.	95
11	(8)	Poplar and Limehouse ..	211	377	—	Sailors ashore, girls absent in service.	105
7	(9)	Hoxton and Haggerston ..	208	98	—		65
9	(10)	Gray's Inn and Clerkenwell	206	169	—		136
18	(11)	Mile End Old Town ..	204	—	32	Servants in households, Victoria Park district.	131
2	(12)	Old Street and S. Shoreditch	203	142	—		123
15	(13)	Rotherhithe	196	240	—	Sailors ashore, girls absent in service.	71
14	(14)	Somers Town and East side Regent's Park	195	61	—	Servants balanced by soldiers in barracks.	278
17	(15)	Bow and Bromley	194	184	—	Girls absent in service, single men lodgers.	96
16	(16)	North Camberwell	192	114	—		88
19	(17)	Islington	191	18	—	Servants in households in Canonbury.	212
38	(18)	Woolwich and Plumstead ..	191	585	—	Soldiers in barracks and single men lodgers.	265
30	(19)	Tottenham Court Road ..	190	—	227	Servants and shop girls, &c.	442
10	(20)	St. John, Westminster ..	189	457	—	Common lodging houses.	151
23	(21)	Fulham	180	—	257	Servants, &c.	370
27	(22)	Kennington	178	111	—		255
21	(23)	Battersea (East)	174	243	—	Girls absent in service.	76
24	(24)	Deptford	173	—	74	Servants balanced by C. L. houses.	274
35	(25)	Battersea (West)	171	—	268	Servants.	297
20	(26)	St. Giles and Strand.. ..	171	—	6	Servants balanced by C. L. houses.	455
26	(27)	Kentish Town..	170	87	—		307
12	(28)	Christ Church, Marylebone	167	—	242	Servants.	546
31	(29)	Greenwich	166	—	103	Servants balanced by hospital.	381
33	(30)	Paddington and Kensal Town	161	—	475	Servants.	592
39	(31)	Hackney (excluding Stamford Hill)	161	—	230	Servants.	305
37	(32)	Hammersmith	158	—	395	Servants.	472
29	(33)	Peckham and Nunhead ..	155	—	57		177
36	(34)	Upper Holloway	154	—	347	Servants.	426
22	(35)	St. John's Wood	154	—	804	Servants.	902
25	(36)	Soho and St. James	152	101	—		525
32	(37)	Chelsea	151	—	341	Servants, after allowing for soldiers in barracks.	774
28	(38)	Kensington Town	141	—	1043	Servants.	1218
45	(39)	Stoke Newington and Stamford Hill	136	—	693	Servants.	739
44	(40)	Brixton	133	—	426	Servants and shopgirls.	539
41	(41)	S. Camberwell & E. Dulwich	125	—	415	Servants.	446
40	(42)	St. Margaret, Westminster, and Belgrave	122	—	644	Servants, after allowing for soldiers.	1521
42	(43)	Wandsworth and Putney ..	118	—	490	Servants.	679
47	(44)	Sydenham, Lewisham and Eltham	105	—	944	Servants.	941
48	(45)	Hampstead	104	—	1552	Servants.	1557
43	(46)	Clapham	104	—	625	Servants and convents.	772
49	(47)	Streatham, Norwood and Dulwich	101	—	1124	Servants.	1138
46	(48)	Mayfair and N. side Hyde Prk.	93	—	1423	Servants.	2209
34	(49)	City of London	85	254	—	Resident warehousemen.	425
50	(50)	Brompton	82	—	2390	Servants.	2765

The order in which the districts stand in the table is very nearly the same as the combined order of poverty, crowding, birth-rate and death-rate, because with all these early marriages are interconnected. It will also be seen that as we pass from poor to rich, so the surplus of the unmarried but still marriageable, passes from male to female. This no doubt is very largely due on the one hand to the girls in service, and on the other to their vacant places in their homes; this latter explanation applying only to a smaller extent, because of the large number of servant girls from the country. The servants are a disturbing element in these statistics, because as marriageable young women they belong more naturally to the district of their home than to that of their service, though partly to be counted from this point of view in both places. Apart, however, from servants, there is a considerable overplus of unmarried but marriageable women among the well-to-do, due to the absence of young men on various forms of service away from home to an extent greater than with the mass of the people; amongst whom, moreover, there are also a far larger proportion of 'young men from the country' living in lodgings. The opportunities for marriage are therefore less in the well-to-do districts than where numbers are better balanced, or where men preponderate, and the period at which women may expect to marry is postponed, a fact which in itself affects the number of children born.

The point I would make is that (except the death-rate) all these influences on natural increase have the effect of multiplying the number of the poor, almost it would seem in proportion to their poverty, and operate in the other direction in the case of those who are better off, almost in proportion to their wealth.

But when we bring the death-rate into account this law no longer holds. With the poor living under bad

conditions in crowded homes the net rate of increase is no greater than, probably it is not so great as, with the large central class that lives in working or lower middle class comfort.

It is difficult to show this conclusively, since not only are the classes everywhere mixed more or less, but often there are complicating circumstances which make direct comparison impossible. If, however, we split up the population in three divisions by class we arrive at the following results :—

TABLE SHOWING COMPARATIVE RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE OF POPULATION.

Largest proportion of 'Poor' and 'Crowded.' DISTRICT.	% Poverty & Crowding.	Rate of Increase.	Largest proportion of 'Not Crowded Central Class.' DISTRICT.	Central lass. %	Rate of Increase.	Largest proportion of Upper Classes and Servants. DISTRICT.	% Upper Classes.	% Servants.	Rate of Increase.
St. Saviour's and Waterloo ..	P. 52·0 / C. 54·1	14·7	S. Camberwell and E. Dulwich	78·0*	11·7	Brompton	29·1	28·4	2·6
Old Street & South Shoreditch	P. 47·7 / C. 57·1	15·9	Peckham	77·2	12·9	Hampstead	25·5	16·3	8·6
Bethnal Green	P. 47·0 / C. 55·0	17·7	Battersea (West)..	74·3	14·0	Mayfair, &c.	19·0	22·0	5·1
St. George's in the East ..	P. 44·8 / C. 53·7	11·2	Deptford	72·9	13·4	Kensington Town	15·6	12·7	7·5
Bermondsey	P. 50·2 / C. 44·6	15·0	Woolwich	72·8	15·5	Streatham, &c.	18·5	11·7	10·3*
Hoxton and Haggerston ..	P. 40·9 / C. 51·3	15·5	Hackney	71·4	13·1	St. Margaret's and Belgravia	11·7	16·2	4·3
Lambeth	P. 36·6 / C. 48·3	15·2	Greenwich	71·0	12·5	Lewisham, &c.	15·0	9·6	11·2*
Poplar and Limehouse	P. 37·6 / C. 33·5	11·7	Kennington	67·9	16·9	St. John's Wood	13·6	10·2	4·5
Newington and Walworth ..	P. 35·0 / C. 35·5	13·8	Bow and Bromley	67·7	15·6	Clapham	11·6	7·8	9·3*
North Camberwell	P. 44·5 / C. 30·3	15·4	Battersea (East)	66·7	17·3	Stoke Newington	11·6	7·5	11·3*
Rotherhithe	P. 40·2 / C. 31·9	15·4	Upper Holloway	64·1	13·3	Paddington	8·9	6·0	12·2*
	Average	14·1 per 1000	* For constituents of Central Class, see page 9.	Average	14·0 per 1000	* Higher rate of increase goes with larger proportion of central class.		Average	9·5 per 1000

Exceptional Combinations.

DISTRICT.	% Poor and Crowded.	% Central.	% Upper Class.	% Servants.	Rate of Increase.	Explanations.	DISTRICT.	% Poor and Crowded.	% Central.	% Upper Class.	% Servants.	Rate of Increase.	Explanations.
St. John's, Westminster	P 44·7 / C 52·2	44·1	2·1	1·6	8·9	Poverty, charity and vice.	Tottenham Ct. Road, &c...	P. 21·3 / C. 48·0	40·9	6·2	4·8	3·1	Foreigners.
ChristChurch, Marylebone	P 31·1 / C 51·2	37·3	5·8	5·7	2·2	Wealth, poverty and charity.	Gray's Inn & Clerkenwell	P. 45·0 / C. 53·5	42·6	2·3	1·6	10·5	Poverty and Italians.
St. Giles and Strand ..	P. 30·5 / C. 45·9	41·0	7·9	5·2	3·6	Wealth, poverty and vice.	Whitechapel, &c.	P. 31·1 / C. 53·1	44·1	1·6	1·2	20·9	Poverty and Jews.
St. James and Soho ..	P. 36·2 / C. 40·6	46·6	7·1	5·7	5·9	Wealth, poverty foreigners and vice.	Wandsworth & Putney ..	P. 26·0 / C. 12·0	70·1	10·6	7·3	5·4	Middle-class pleasure-seekers.

In the left hand division it is degradation rather than poverty that is characteristic, and to a great extent explains the figures. Those given in the right hand division are altogether exceptional.

In these tables I have selected three sets of eleven most typical districts to represent the largest proportion (*a*) of poverty, (*b*) of working-class comfort and (*c*) of the classes above these. It will be seen that, although it has so much higher a birth-rate, the poorer section shows a rate of increase not any greater than that of the middle section, but that the rate shown by the section including most upper-class people, is little more than half as much. And it may be that the middle section would lead, were it not dragged down by including a larger proportion of a less prolific class.

The balance weight which brings the natural rate of increase approximately level over the bulk of the population, is death ; and to a large extent it is the death of young children. The tables of infant mortality sufficiently indicate this, but if figures giving the rates between the first and fifth years were available for the areas under observation, the proofs would be further strengthened.

More children are born, and consequently more of them die ; or perhaps we may reverse the argument and say the children die, and therefore more are born ; and for this there may be many explanations besides recklessness.

On the whole it may fairly be expected that concurrently with a rising standard of health we may see a fall in birth-rate as well as death-rate, and thus have no cause to fear, as the result of better sanitation, that the largest natural increase in population will ever be contributed by the lowest class.

The following figures which bear upon this point will be of interest :—Taking the same thirty-three districts, as representing three main divisions by class, we see the immediate connection that exists between birth and death-rates in each case.

In the poor and crowded districts, infantile deaths (within the year) represent on the average 6·3 out of a total death-rate of 23 per 1000. In the 'central' division they account for 4·7 out of 17·7, and in the upper-class division for 3·2 out of 14·7. In all classes infant life is very precarious, and in this respect the advantage of the well-to-do is perhaps less than might be expected. Of the total born in the poor section, 16·9 per cent. or one-sixth die in the first year; in the central section, 14·8 per cent.; and in the upper division 13·2 per cent. It may be that the presence of a good many poor, even in generally well-to-do districts, is among the causes which tend to equalize the figures.

INFANT MORTALITY.

Largest Proportion Poor and Crowded.					Largest Proportion Comfortable Central Class.					Largest Proportion Upper Classes.				
DISTRICT.	Birth-rate.	Death-rate. After Infancy.	Death-rate. In Infancy.	Proportion dying in Infancy.*	DISTRICT.	Birth-rate.	Death-rate. After Infancy.	Death-rate. In Infancy.	Proportion dying in Infancy.*	DISTRICT.	Birth-rate.	Death-rate. After Infancy.	Death-rate. In Infancy.	Proportion dying in Infancy.*
	per 1000	per 1000	per 1000	%		per 1000	per 1000	per 1000	%		per 1000	per 1000	per 1000	%
St. Saviour's and Waterloo ..	39·4	18·2	6·5	16·4	S. Camberwell	27·8	11·8	4·3	15·5	Brompton	13·5	8·1	2·8	20·7
Old Street and S. Shoreditch..	39·9	18·5	5·7	14·3	Peckham, &c..	31·7	13·7	5·1	16·1	Hampstead	20·6	9·4	2·6	12·6
Bethnal Green	38·9	10·0	5·2	13·4	Battersea (W.)	31·0	12·0	5·0	16·1	Mayfair, &c.	18·5	10·6	2·8	15·1
St. George's in the East ..	36·6	17·8	7·6	20·7	Deptford ..	32·5	14·3	4·8	14·8	Kensington Town	25·4	13·3	4·6	18·1
Bermondsey	37·3	15·4	6·9	18·5	Woolwich ..	31·9	12·5	3·9	12·2	Streatham, &c.	22·8	10·0	2·5	11·0
Hoxton and Haggerston ..	37·6	15·2	6·9	18·4	Hackney ..	30·5	13·0	4·5	14·8	S. Margaret's & Belgravia	21·0	12·8	3·9	18·6
Lambeth	38·3	15·6	7·5	19·6	Greenwich ..	30·4	13·8	4·1	13·5	Lewisham, &c.	24·7	10·3	3·2	13·0
Poplar and Limehouse.. ..	35·1	17·7	5·7	16·2	Kennington ..	34·0	12·5	4·6	13·5	St. John's Wood	25·2	16·3	4·4	17·5
Newington and Walworth ..	35·7	16·0	5·9	16·5	Bow & Bromley	30·1	14·5	6·0	16·6	Clapham	24·3	12·3	2·7	11·1
North Camberwell	34·8	13·8	5·6	16·1	Battersea (E.)..	34·9	12·3	5·3	15·2	Stoke Newington	24·8	10·7	2·8	11·3
Rotherhithe	35·4	15·1	4·9	13·8	Upper Holloway	29·3	11·7	4·3	14·7	Paddington	29·2	12·5	4·5	15·4
Averages	37·1	16·7	6·3	16·9	Averages ..	31·7	13·0	4·7	14·8	Averages	24·2	11·5	3·2	13·2

Exceptional Combinations.

DISTRICT.	Birth-rate.	Death-rate. After Infancy.	Death-rate. In Infancy.	Proportion dying in Infancy.	Explanations.	DISTRICT.	Birth-rate.	Death-rate. After Infancy.	Death-rate. In Infancy.	Proportion dying in Infancy.	Explanations.
	per 1000	per 1000	per 1000	%			per 1000	per 1000	per 1000	%	
St. John's, Westminster ..	30·0	16·6	4·5	15·0	See previous table.	Tottenham Court Road, &c.	22·1	14·5	3·5	15·8	See previous table.
Christ Church, Marylebone..	26·7	19·6	4·9	18·4		Gray's Inn and Clerkenwell	31·6	16·0	5·1	16·1	
St. Giles and Strand ..	25·0	16·1	5·2	20·8		Whitechapel, &c.	43·3	15·4	7·0	16·1	
St. James and Soho	22·9	13·9	3·1	13·5		Wandsworth and Putney ..	20·9	11·8	3·7	17·7	

* This percentage represents the proportion of those born, who die within a year of their birth.

§ 3

POVERTY IN OTHER PLACES

The comparisons we have made between the conditions of life obtaining in various parts of London, however imperfect in detail, acquire a certain measure of strength and consistency from the great area and huge population concerned, from the variety of the tests applied, and from the wide range of results shown. But while the positive knowledge provided is in many respects incomplete, a much fuller comparative value might also well be given by the inclusion of data from other places or other times.

Towards such a widening of the area of contemporary observation, Mr. Rowntree's study of poverty in York marks an important step, and the book in which he has published the results of his inquiries will be well known to many of my readers.* Aiming primarily at a classification of the inhabitants of York, similar to that attempted by me for London, he has been able to carry his investigation both further and deeper, and by so doing (beyond the individual merit of his own work) has, in the way of illumination, added to the value of mine something more than that which springs from mere comparison or confirmation. Terms I have used acquire a fuller meaning. But the new field of comparison is itself of great value, involving as it has done (since the conditions are found to be so similar) the suggestion, amounting perhaps to probability, that a more or less uniform standard of poverty in connection with industrial life exists throughout the whole English urban population.

If a solid basis of comparison can be established, the doors will be opened to a far wider and more fruitful field of observation ; since much greater value will

* *Poverty : A Study of Town Life.* B. S. Rowntree. (Macmillan.)

be given to the patchwork evidence of such minor local investigations as have been instituted on various occasions, but which, lacking the framework of a general conception of the relations of one part to another, have remained isolated, and have been too often ignored and speedily forgotten. And the importance of such investigations, if they can be brought to bear, will be no less if in any respect they fail to confirm the validity of methods already adopted, or tend to disprove the correctness of results already attained.

Of the definite prosecution of such inquiries in our own and other cities, and not in cities only, but wherever the conditions of life seem to demand investigation, we shall probably see more and more ; and finally the checking, contrasting, and combining of the information so obtained will be the crowning work of the social statistician.

The York inquiry appears to show that the slums of a country town may be as bad in their way, if indeed not worse, than those of London. York suffers more than London from the use, in common, of water tap and closet, by the occupants of separate houses. These evils exist in London, but not in the same proportion or degree. So, too, cottages set back to back, or backing upon some other building, are more frequent in York than in London. But the evil characteristics differ. It is so, as we have seen, in London itself, where we have tenement-house and hovel, old slums and new ; with mischief due to bad building or to bad ground, to bad sanitation, to bad management by the landlord, or to bad habits of the tenant. All these types may perhaps be found in even more aggravated shape elsewhere than in London, and there may be some varieties not known with us at all. For each particular kind of trouble there are special causes, and for each cause and kind there may be, perhaps, a suitable

remedy. It is among all of these—kinds, causes and remedies—that we have to pick our way. It is likely enough that wherever poverty exists, it is accompanied more or less by the same circumstances, but each town and each country may have its own particular difficulties or faults, and so may serve to point a warning while it seeks an escape or cure. The swollen aggregation and congestion of London, the overcrowding on the banks of the Tyne, the one-roomed life of Glasgow, the ruined houses, rags and dirt of Dublin, the teeming tenements of New York or the 'double-decker' block dwellings of Chicago, may be each in their way supreme, but we are nowhere very far removed from any of these conditions, and have much to learn from any investigation so conducted as to add to the common stock of knowledge.

Mr. Rowntree's researches at York have struck the note of comparison between town and town, and have thus helped to open up this great field, but that is not all : with great boldness he has attempted to introduce a fresh element. He has sought to show not only that a large portion of the population are ill-nourished to the point of being inefficient, but that for very many of these it is impossible that it should be otherwise ; the remuneration of unskilled labour, the cost of food, and the needs of the human body being what they are. The methods of research and the lines of argument adopted are somewhat new. As to the results, it seems to me that a *primâ facie* case has been made out which demands, and at the same time is capable of, further investigation.

The more solid and convincing the information obtained by social inquiry and the more practical the uses to be made of it, the more certain will extension of the work become, and comparisons between one place and another cannot but follow naturally. In this direction advance is sure. In addition, the social

student needs to penetrate more deeply into the lives of the people at different periods. We look to him to show us, without flattery or bias or heat, whether things have improved with us, whether, or in what way, we have paid for the improvement; or, if they have deteriorated, what part this deterioration has played in industrial development. We want to have the real meaning of 'improvement' and 'deterioration' examined for us in the light of closer historical and comparative inquiry than has ever yet been made. Comparisons with the past are absolutely necessary to the true comprehension of all that exists to-day; without them we cannot penetrate to the heart of things.

§ 4

VARIOUS METHODS OF INQUIRY

The root idea with which I began the work that has taken shape in the series of volumes of which this is the last, was that every fact I needed was known to some one and that the information had simply to be collected and put together. But it was necessary that in the process of collection the facts should be reduced to some common measure of validity by being passed, as it were, through a sieve which should make it possible not only to reject the false and hold back the improbable, but also to tone down exaggeration, or, reading between the lines, to find and add the requisite emphasis to an understated truth. To do this has been a difficult task, in which success could only be partial. I have relied first and chiefly on mere average and consensus resulting from the great number and variety of my sources of information. Statements on which reliance could be placed would tend to enforce themselves, and errors balance each other and drop out of count. But looking at the matter in this rather wholesale way, it was all the more necessary that there should be no persistent bias at the centre at which all this varied information was assorted and assimilated. On this the entire value of the work depended, and I can only hope that genuine impartiality has been maintained.

I have been fortunate in having had for the most part the same co-workers throughout; thus general uniformity has been secured. We have co-operated as men of various views, working to the common end of unbiased exposition. Anticipations as to the outcome (perhaps the most subtle form of bias) have differed greatly amongst us, and have changed from time to time as the work proceeded. Of any other bias I am certainly unconscious. That the honesty of the attempt

has been so widely and generously recognised has been a source of the highest gratification.

Most of such work as this of mine could not, as I think, be advantageously attempted officially; nor is it so well suited for voluntary association as for the enterprise of a single person. The appropriate agency varies with the subject of investigation, as do the methods to be adopted; and while comparing these methods we may also consider the part in social research best taken by the central or by local authorities, by voluntary associations, or by private individuals.

If I do not discuss the advantage of such inquiries, it is not because I think that this can be assumed as a matter of course, but because their value will be found to depend so very much on the temper in which the information is sought, and the spirit in which it is received, as well as on its accuracy, and because these things in their turn depend in great measure on the agency employed and on the methods adopted.

In a general way it may be said that the more public the character of the inquiry, the more impersonal should be the information aimed at. The enumeration of the people is a good example of what I mean. The particulars obtained concern many of the most intimate facts of family life. From the aggregate of these facts conclusions may be drawn of the greatest social value. But neither in their collection, nor in the public use made of these facts, is the veil of privacy ever practically set aside; nor ought it to be. Such work must be done by the Central Government. Only so could it be carried out in the right spirit, and only so obtain the requisite sanction and breadth of application.

A question then arises as to the manner in which the material collected should be tabulated. Should the aim be to produce what may be called finished statistics, intended to throw definite light on definite points of interest; or merely to evolve general

tables which will be raw material for further manipulation? Again, the more public the character of the inquiry, the more general should be the immediate arrangement of the facts. To produce pabulum for others is the right plan. Any special aim is likely to distort or circumscribe the published information. The national census (to revert to our example) has undoubtedly suffered in general utility by being made a branch of the Registrar-General's work. But it is nevertheless necessary that the uses to be made of the material should as far as possible be foreseen and carefully considered and provided for. Other Government departments, local bodies and private statisticians, may be trusted to put forward their claims, as I have myself done again and again, being met at all times most kindly. It should be for the central authority to meet these various wishes, so far as practicable, and this course would be all the more easy for it to pursue if it had no special axe of its own to grind.

Each Government department necessarily accumulates statistics, and in addition to those which it needs for itself might make some contribution for general use. In this, as between department and department, there would be reciprocity, and the same rule of having in the records they keep, one eye on their own purposes and one on general utility, should hold good for local authorities also. If collected in this spirit, the value of public statistics would be very great and their cost extremely small.

So far I speak only of impersonal statistics, which will very largely be drawn from the current facts of administration. They may sometimes involve special first-hand inquiry, but are not the result of investigation levelled at any particular social abuses or difficulties. Investigations such as these last, if undertaken by some Governmental department or local body, aimed at the

improvement of their own administration, may be placed in the next category. It does not follow that the results of the investigations are ever published, and it may be better they should not be; if published it will probably be in self-justification, or (more rarely) to rouse public opinion. In such matters voluntary effort is almost useless, for unless the inquiries spring from genuine energy of administration grounded in goodwill, no benefit can result.

The Board of Trade has taken action of this kind more than once in connection with the enforcing or amendment of the Factory Acts. The methods adopted have been to supplement by special investigation the reports of their own inspectors, and it has been the business of the appointed investigator to invite informal evidence from any one likely to be able to supply information. The method could hardly be improved. It lacks something of the freedom of private work, being necessarily very closely restricted in aim; but for an immediate practical purpose this is hardly a disadadvantage, and, with the power and prestige of a great Government department behind it, the work done is very effective. But the more common examples of such work are those afforded by local bodies in their inquiries into the conditions of life as to crowding and sanitation, having for immediate aim the discovery of the extent to which breaches of the laws or by-laws on these subjects prevail, and as ultimate object the raising of the standard of health and decency. These are questions on which the rousing of public opinion may be essential to action. Or it may be that the Medical Officer of Health needs the evidence to convince his superiors in authority. To this end he works out the death-rate as it applies to selected areas, and tabulates the cases of illness, the houses are inspected, their condition and the state of the drains are described, and finally the difficulty of enforcing the laws when both

landlord and tenant wish to evade them is explained. All this is done in order to impress upon the authorities the necessity of some sweeping change, and, again, the methods adopted could hardly be improved. It is the inspector's business to inspect; there is official sanction for all that is done; and, strange as it may appear, the action taken raises no false hopes, nor indeed any hopes at all, in the minds of the poor, but rather some fear of disturbance. In this class of investigation, too, there is not much room for volunteer effort, unless, indeed, there is scandalous official indifference. If undertaken privately, the avowed aim is to stimulate the authorities to action, and that action if taken necessarily includes a public investigation covering the same ground.

It is, however, in this way, by directing public attention to the existence of evils, that much can be done by voluntary associations of those whose feelings have already been aroused. Full of burning zeal, they are the best possible medium for work of this kind, and simple methods of inquiry which seek solely the evidence they need, are the most applicable. These methods waste no time and no force but go straight to the point, and if honestly conducted are often very effective.

Finally, there is the work of the private individual, who, impressed by the thought that about so many matters upon which most people (including himself) talk freely, so very little is really known, and believing that with better information ways may be found towards many needed improvements, sets deliberately to work to obtain the knowledge and secure the benefit. I suppose that I am myself a character of this kind, and Mr. Rowntree is another instance.

I have already described my own method, into which I was drawn by the task of attempting the social and industrial analysis and classification of more than four

millions of people. Mr. Rowntree at York, with less than one-fiftieth of that number, had a different task, and was able to apply other methods, but the spirit was the same. In his case one lady was able to visit every house, and at many of them, as he says, even to make repeated calls. In her notebooks were recorded many facts about each poor family and its way of life. Under Mr. Rowntree's guidance, the even measure and the pitch and tone of the social gamut used in the inquiry depend on this lady. But the details are a great help. The facts speak. And in every direction old and new clues were followed. Not only were family budgets—a method of intensive investigation deserving a much wider recognition in this country than it has yet received—not only were such budgets obtained to show the actual expenses of living in various classes, and the cost of food per man (each woman and child figuring from this point of view as certain agreed fractions of a man) ; but this food was again set out as containing so much of this or that necessary constituent of human life and energy according to the latest scientific pronouncement ; while the conclusion that not enough proper food was taken to furnish growth and maintain full vigour was held to be borne out by the comparative analyses given of prison and workhouse dietaries. A very important sidelight, too, was sought by comparing the height, weight, and general condition of school children of the same age belonging to different social classes. In its way the picture given is complete, and it is consistent in its different parts.

It is to be noted that such investigations as these last, into food stuffs and nutrition in connection with growth and development, or with labour of varying severity, are not well suited for individual work, but ought to be undertaken either by bodies of recognised experts, on their own initiative as a pure question of

science, or by some responsible association as a matter of philanthropy, or by Government as affecting national welfare generally; for it is not a subject on which there should be left any doubt which scientific research and authority can remove.

In recent years much use has been made of various forms of Governmental inquiry: by Committees of either House of Parliament and by Joint Committees; by Departmental Committees of many kinds; and by Royal Commissions. Any of these may be turned towards social subjects, and each has its appropriate sphere of utility, though it may not keep strictly to it; and if the parts are exchanged each will probably fail. The first paves the way for, or decides on the practicability or impracticability of legislation; the second is the handmaid of immediate action, whether legislative or administrative; while the last is incomparable for discussion. The great Royal Commissions of our day on Housing, Sweating, Old Age Pensions, The Depression of Trade, Labour, and Local Taxation, though unwieldy as the instruments of inquiry into fact, and unsatisfactory as direct aids either to legislation or administration, are each admirable in the dialectical treatment of opposing suggestions and theories.

§ 5

EAST AND WEST

When Prince Gautama passed from his palace into the world, he became suddenly impressed by the realities of disease and decay, old age and death, to which all flesh is heir. His imagination penetrated, in

a single moment of inspiration, to the heart of things, and what he found he accepted. Recognising and submitting to suffering and sorrow as bound up with life, he patiently sought a way of escape for mankind, and found it in a revolution of the soul, through which man might put himself beyond life's passions. His doctrine was that if the outlook of the soul were changed, everything would be changed thereby. Such was his message to mankind.

Our Western way is different. Distressed by the miseries of existence, by the horrors of disease, the breakdown of old age and the pressure of death (just as he was), we appoint Royal Commissions, we form associations, we conduct inquiries, we collect evidence, we enact fresh laws, we stimulate discontent and denounce wrongdoers; and the very last thing that would occur to any one of us would be to go forth into the wilderness, to spend years in hunger and patient meditation on the innermost spiritual structure of a woeful world, and seek in this way solace for the troubles of mankind. The Eastern method is to transfer the struggle of life from the arena of the world to that of the soul, and quell it there; the Western, to drown the tumult of the soul in action. Their ideal is a passionless nirvana of individual extinction, while we accept life as an incessant struggle with evil, a combat which, even if success seems hopeless, must still be maintained.

What religion has to offer in the West as in the East, is a revolution of the soul; a change within, which will itself change everything; but which, instead of ending life's activities, renders them, with the heightening of conscience, even more acute and perhaps more complicated. There arises contest within contest; with ourselves and with our own passions; with others and with their passions, and each effort made has its

fore-runner and its sequel. Like wrestlers we strive wrist to wrist before the decisive throw. And no throw is final. Fresh adversaries spring up. Our emotions and passions prove the dragon's teeth of the fable. The very idea of repose is banished to another life. In this one we do not desire it.

PART II.

HABITS OF THE PEOPLE

§ 1

MARRIAGE AND MORALITY

During the course of my inquiry into "Religious Influences," which occupied the years 1897-1900, many points of interest regarding the habits of the people were noted, which, even if of small importance in themselves, and providing no complete account, have yet seemed to me worthy of collection, and may serve to reflect some light on the subjects treated in the preceding volumes. I shall begin by quoting remarks on various phases of home life, and trust to be able to indicate with sufficient clearness the section of the people referred to and, when needed, the character of the authority.*

Legal marriage is the general rule, even among the roughest class, at any rate at the outset in life; but later, among those who come together in maturer years, non-legalized cohabitation is far from uncommon, and this irregular relationship is commented upon not always to its disadvantage. It is even said of rough labourers that they behave best if not married to the women with whom they live. 'The difficulty' (said one of the clergy) 'is that these people manage to live together fairly peaceably so long as they are not

* In this volume, as in the preceding series dealing with *Religious Influences*, single quotation marks indicate that the sentence is taken from our notes of what has been said by the authority from whom I quote.

married, but if they marry it always seems to lead to blows and rows.' They do not trust each other sufficiently to marry. A missionary mentioned the case of an old couple, whose real relationship transpired when the man was ill who had lived together unmarried for forty years. 'He would have married me again and again' (said the woman) 'but I never could see the good of it.' On the other side it is remarked that 'marriage lines' are valued by some of the less independent poor, for the sake of the charitable relief which the respectability thus vouched for helps them to secure.

In many cases, too, a legal union is impossible, owing to a prior marriage of one or both parties. Wife desertion is described as common, and it follows naturally that the men and women pair off again, when 'as a rule, the parties are faithful to each other.' Such re-arrangements constitute in effect a form of divorce without the assistance of the Court. Many widows also drift into a similar equivocal position, either with a lodger or by accepting the position of looking after a man's house and his children.

Whether the conples are or are not married, their homes are often neglected. Of the wives it is complained that 'instead of cooking, women stand gossiping all the morning and then send out to the ham and beef shop.' 'Many are sluggards, and their unpunctuality causes quarrelling,' says one witness, and adds, 'It is not surprising that they come in for blows sometimes, with their lazy, drunken habits.' In other cases it is the man who is lazy, idle, and good for nothing, content to live on the woman's earnings.

But if the family tie is not strong, neither is it exclusive. However they may have been begotten, the children are almost equally accepted as sent by Heaven, and adoption is common. There are no doubt terrible cases of neglect and cruelty, but on the whole kindness and affection reign, though it may be

careless kindness and ill-regulated affection. But it is not surprising that there should be little parental control. 'The father renounces, and the mother acts capriciously.' There is often a complete absence of discipline, due, perhaps, to the absence of any accepted principle of management, the children, it is said, being sometimes 'bribed to do to-day what they may be beaten for doing to-morrow.' The influence of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is undoubtedly salutary as a check on neglect and cruelty, though it may occasionally react harmfully on the attitude of parents when children threaten to appeal to it, as we are told they sometimes do. On the whole, however, the efforts, both direct and indirect, of this society, are spoken of as highly beneficial.

'The great loss of the last twenty years' is asserted to be 'the weakening of the family ties between parents and children. Children don't look after their old people according to their means. The fault lies in the fact that the tie is broken so early. As soon as a boy earns ten shillings a week he can obtain board and lodging in some family other than his own, and he goes away because he has in this way greater liberty.' Still the influence of the home is very great: 'A bad boy may come from a good home, but wherever you find a superior kind of boy you know his home must be good.'

The growing independence on the part of children is frequently spoken of. At bottom it springs from the comparative ease with which they secure employment, and this has its good as well as its bad side.

Financial independence and freedom from parental restraint bring about an early escape from the discomforts of home. As boys and girls, and as young men and young women, the sexes meet and keep company together. About this there is little that is vicious, and there is even a good deal of virtuous

restraint, although the rules are not strict, at any rate in the lower ranks of labour. The mischievous results of Bank Holiday outings are frequently noted in our evidence. On the whole it may be accepted as a correct opinion that 'immoral relations before marriage among the lower classes are not unusual, and are indulgently regarded. Girls of this class do not lose caste because of an illegitimate child. A young mother bringing an illegitimate child to be registered will be accompanied by two or three companions.' 'Practically no stigma attaches,' when the pair are keeping company with a view to marriage. But usually marriage, 'when needed,' is expected to follow, and does follow closely on the indiscretions of the young. It may, perhaps, itself be accounted one of them. To previous relations and their results, early marriages are thus, often, immediately due. With the upper classes illicit relations tend to postpone the age of marriage; it is not so with the poor.

In some cases, especially if there are no children, there may be, amongst those who commence thus loosely, regular domesticated cohabitation unaccompanied by marriage; but this is comparatively rare. More usually the natural consequences of loose relations are regarded as leading properly to marriage, and until then domestic relations do not result. If these consequences happen, marriage is recognised as the girl's right and the young man's responsibility. Family life is thus given a fair start, and worse would be thought of any who evaded this rule, than of those whose married life, after trial, proved to be a failure; and who, having parted without ceremony, by and by form new, and perhaps more permanent, though irregular ties.

A few more quotations from our evidence may be given: 'The chief cause of early marriage is the intolerable discomfort of the home in the evening;

boys' and girls' clubs have the effect of postponing marriage;' so says one of the clergy. 'They begin to walk out so early and marry very young,' says another, who bears witness to the sense of honour shown—to the chivalry and faithfulness. A third thinks that 'as a rule the girls are good,' and that 'if they "get into trouble" they marry.' 'Early marriage for pressing reasons' is very commonly reported, but it is generally added that marriage was always intended, and only 'anticipated.' From rather lower districts we hear, 'marriage very early, scarcely any till obliged to;' and again, 'forced marriages almost universal: the more respectable people six months, and others just before the child is born,' and a story is told of the postponement of the ceremony on the report of the doctor that there was 'no hurry for a day or two.' 'Most young men are bounced into marriage,' says a doctor, while a schoolmaster puts it that 'if the man is a decent fellow he accepts his duty of his own accord, and if he is unwilling is often worried into marriage by his own or the girl's parents.' A clergyman vouches for the information that 'it is almost always the woman who puts up the banns.'

Of a somewhat higher class we hear that 'cohabitation is exceptional and forced marriages not common, there being a strong opinion in favour of proper relationships,' and I conceive that there is no surer test of divergence of standard among the working classes themselves than the way in which this question is regarded. There are those to whom a fall from virtue in a daughter or a sister is a terrible thing, hardly to be condoned; but the more usual division is between those by whom slips of this kind are spoken of freely, and although condemned, regarded almost as a matter of course, and those who pass over with as little notice as possible a subject that it is polite to ignore. On the other hand, the classes in which there is the greatest

amount of this kind of licence are for the most part free from the evils of prostitution.

It is said that as regards child-bearing, preventive checks are being increasingly used. Those who would themselves think it wrong, allude to the adoption of the practice by others. This does not apply much to the poor, who in these matters are influenced by superstition of the same character as that which brings the poorest kind of women to be churched, 'because they don't want a miscarriage next time.' But the objectionable and ill-omened practice is stated to be 'filtering down.' So, too, it is not so much amongst the poor as in the artisan class that marriages take place before the registrar. The poor think it unlucky to be without the support of the Church. But among them some give expression to the view that there is much less fuss in being married at the registrar's offices, especially in the matter of dress, bridal attire being *de rigueur* at church, and from one cause or another civil marriages are on the increase.

Among the poor marriage is hardly regarded as a responsibility. A man who is out of work and in debt needs the comfort of a wife, and takes advantage of his leisure to secure one. In a general way, the better off men are, the later they marry, but no consensus of opinion can be quoted against a rather early age for working-class marriages. Boy and girl marriages are indeed strongly condemned, but of these there are not very many, and the number is decreasing. As the result of various causes, there seems to be no doubt that the age of marriage is rising. Clubs and wider interests generally are certainly exercising a good effect in this direction. At twenty-five for men, and between twenty-one and twenty-four for the other sex, marriages are to be encouraged. A Congregationalist minister describes such marriages as 'permanent moralities.'

§ 2

SUNDAYS, HOLIDAYS AND AMUSEMENTS

Many accounts have been given us concerning life on Sunday, both in the streets and in the homes. 'The day,' says one, speaking of his own poor neighbourhood, 'is comparatively quiet but for the costers shouting all day long in the poor streets. The shops, with few exceptions, are shut or only partly open. In the homes the men lie abed all the morning, mend rabbit hutches and pigeon lofts in the afternoon, and go for a walk in the evening. Their objection to going to church,' this witness adds, 'is stronger than ever.' 'Those of a rather better stamp take the "kids" for a ride on the tram;' and for these and some of a rather higher class too, a picture is drawn of the man in bed with his paper on Sunday morning and his wife cooking the dinner. A deacon of a Congregational church gives the following description of the people in his neighbourhood: 'They get up at nine or ten, and as he passes to his chapel he sees them sitting at breakfast half-dressed or lounging in the window reading *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*. After they are washed and dressed the men wait about until the public-houses open, and then stay within their doors till three o'clock, when they go home to dinner, which meanwhile the women have been preparing. At half-past twelve, as he returns from chapel after the morning service, the minister often meets women laden with baskets of provisions from the street-market near by, on their way home to cook the dinner. After dinner the men, if they have drunk much, may go to bed, but the better sort take a stroll. In the evening the young people pair off for walking out, while the elders may perhaps go to a concert or Sunday League lecture.'

Here is another more summary description: 'The church bell, they say, wakes them: they get up, adjourn

to the public-house from one to three, dine soon after three, sleep, and either go again to the public-house in the evening or to the Park.' This comes from Mile End, but is echoed almost exactly from Stockwell (*vis à vis* on the map): 'Up at twelve to be ready for the "pubs.," which open at one; dinner any time between two and four, then sleep, and then off with wife and children to hear the band on the Common.'

By way of contrast I may add the account given by a Baptist minister in South London of the church-goers' Sunday: 'The evening service is best attended; families come then. In the morning the man often comes without the wife, leaving her at home to cook the dinner. Sunday dinner, the meal of the week with his people, for which all the family are gathered together, takes place between 1 and 2.30. Some children are late for Sunday school at three because dinner lasts so long. After dinner, when the children go to school, the men sleep, though this has been broken into to some extent by the men's P. S. A.* meeting lately inaugurated, to which fifty to seventy come, over a hundred being on the books. [The P.S.A. is an Evangelistic service, with instrumental and vocal music, hymns, solos and a short address.] Tea at five, and then the evening service, which all attend.'

Secular amusements on Sunday are said to have increased to such an extent as to have become a nuisance to those who like a quiet rest on that day. The brakes that drive past laden with pleasure-seekers have generally each their cornet-player, and this custom has gone so far that some suburban local authorities are making by-laws to check it.

The decent occupations, interests and pleasures encouraged, or provided, by the efforts of the 'Sunday Society' are even more directly aimed at the improvement of the uses to be made

* Pleasant Sunday Afternoon.

of the Sunday holiday than are the efforts of the religious bodies, and they have been rewarded with considerable success. The victory won over the narrower Sabbatarian has been attested by the success of the Society in securing the opening of public museums on Sunday afternoons. Crowded audiences of respectable non-church-going people welcome the Sunday concerts and other entertainments offered by the National Sunday League; whilst the Sunday Lecture Society's meetings are well attended, as are also the Ethical Society's lectures and concerts. The concerts given at the Albert Hall and at the Alexandra Palace draw crowds. Moreover the clubs provide Sunday amusement for some thirty or forty thousand people in winter.

In the way of Sunday pleasuring much is spent on themselves alone by the men, who leave their wives and children at home. The thoughtless selfishness and indifference of men of all classes are denounced, and the consequent lack of home life is mentioned as a blot. The clergy hold the upper classes especially responsible for sapping the foundations of religion by making Sunday a day of pleasure. 'Sunday is becoming the great holiday,' said one of them, and mentioned the stream of bicyclists, but at the same time bore witness as to his own following that 'our faithful people are very faithful, and our earnest people very earnest.'

A more agreeable and perhaps quite as true a view of the life of the people is that 'Sunday is the great day for visiting; families go off to see their relations, whilst others are receiving theirs at home.' 'In the morning they do not get up in time for church; in the evening they receive or visit their friends, and in summer go to the park or the common.' With some of a different class we hear that 'Sunday is spent in lounging about or gardening, and in the evening you hear the tinkle of the piano and the mandoline.'

Holiday making is spoken of as 'one of the most remarkable changes in habits in the last ten years,' and the statement is applicable to all classes. 'The amount saved by working men is little compared to what is spent in this way' and yet, in the opinion of this witness (a superintendent of police), 'they save more than they used to.' 'The district' (says one of the Hackney clergy) 'is almost deserted on Bank Holiday. The women go off as well as the men.' 'A great change,' says another witness, 'has come over the people'; instead of 'spending so much in the public-houses, they go for 'excursions of all kinds' and the result is recognised as a distinct improvement. But it is partly in connection with this that the public-houses have acquired a new use, it having become customary for young men to take young women there, when out on pleasure together. The change of habit in holiday making has thus helped to introduce a practice that was formerly never thought of—a change in fashion as regards what it is proper to do corresponding to that as regards smoking in the streets, which fifty years ago was inadmissible. This use of the public-houses has been fostered by the fact that other places of refreshment are usually closed on general holidays as well as on Sundays, but there are some signs that a change is coming in this matter; tea rooms having been opened, as many of them certainly should be.

Excursions in brakes are without end. One of these noted consisted of sixteen vehicles, containing all the girls from some large works with their young men, as to whom all that the milkman, who was looking on, could say, was, 'Well, they dress better, but their manners are about the same.' The manager of another large works at which many girls are employed, said: 'It is useless to open the works on the day after Bank Holiday, or even for two days.' Very rarely does one hear a good word for the Bank Holidays. The more

common view is that they are a curse, and, as already stated, the mischievous results from a sexual point of view due to a general abandonment of restraint, are frequently noted in our evidence. But the rough crush must act as a safeguard of a kind, although 'nothing,' says one witness, 'can surpass the scenes of depravity and indecency' that sometimes result. From other points of view, too, there is some reason to think that their establishment was a step in a wrong direction. The religious festivals at Christmas and Easter, with perhaps one national day (which among them all we have not got), make perhaps a sufficiency of fixed points. Beyond these it would certainly be far better that each trade, or each business establishment, should arrange holidays to suit its own convenience and the seasons of its work, and this freedom might even be extended to each individual. The spirit of pleasure in London does not appear to need fostering so much as wise guidance. It is only as enforcing holidays when otherwise they might not be taken at all, that the atmosphere of a general holiday may be accounted as good.

'To keep the Sabbath holy' is worth a great effort; and for this purpose Sunday labour should cease, so far as possible, but when this high reason does not apply it seems folly to plan that all, except those whose work is such that they are over pressed to meet the needs of the holiday makers, should take holiday on the same day. Those who cater for amusements, and the sellers of drink, are busier than ever; but other shops are closed very inconveniently, and it is said that though drink is always obtainable, food, too often, is not.

The closing of banks on these fixed days is inconvenient and quite unnecessary. The staff of every bank is arranged on a scale which allows for holiday absences.

The convergence on Saturday as a weekly half-

holiday is on another footing, and though it may be abused, as in the case of men who spend half their week's wages before coming home, it more properly and more generally enables the wife to do her week's marketing in good time and still have leisure and money left for the evening's enjoyment; shops and markets in the poor districts and places of amusement everywhere being in full train of activity. With a richer class this half-holiday is valued as making 'week end' outings possible.

The demand for amusement is not less noticeable than that for holidays, and supply follows. To 'What shall we eat, what drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?' must now be added the question, 'How shall we be amused?' To this an answer has to be found. Even to the police it has presented a problem. 'What,' they ask, 'is to be done with young fellows? Every evening crowds of them come back from their work and loaf about the streets; they join in with whatever is forward, and are an embarrassment if there are no places of amusement for them to go to.'

And from something more than the police point of view, what can be made of it? 'It is a good thing for people to clean themselves up and go out,' says a vestryman of long standing, who holds that not half enough local amusement is provided, and who declines to accept as adequate the efforts of the religious bodies in this direction. Unmistakably, taste is more critical, and, beyond this, any attempt to 'improve the occasion' is resented. 'Concerts and entertainments given by the Church are poorly attended,' said a North-West London vicar, but added that if let for some benefit, when a concert of the usual music-hall type would be given, the hall was always crammed.

Passing by the ordinary mission entertainment, of

which the failure is patent, and considering only professional work, there has been a great development and improvement upon the usual public-house sing-song, as to the low character and bad influence of which there are not two opinions. The story of progress in this respect may be traced in many of the existing places which, from a bar parlour and a piano, to an accompaniment on which friends 'obliged with a song,' have passed through every stage to that of music hall; the presiding chairman being still occasionally, and the call for drinks in almost every case, retained. But the character of the songs on the whole is better, and other things are offered: it becomes a 'variety' entertainment. The audiences are prevailingly youthful. They seek amusement and are easily pleased. No encouragement to vice can be attributed to these local music halls. The increase in the number, as well as size of these halls, has been rapid. The profits made by the proprietors have been great, and the favourite performers, being able to appear before a succession of audiences, passing rapidly with their repertoire from hall to hall, can be and are very highly remunerated. The performances also can be continually varied, for the supply of artistes is without end. The taste becomes a habit, and new halls are opened every year: soon no district will be without one. Then theatres follow. But meanwhile, and especially in poor neighbourhoods, the old-fashioned style of sing-song still continues in force.

In the central districts all places of amusement are very largely supported by the rich or by strangers visiting London. People from the outskirts come occasionally, but it is the music hall or theatre of their own neighbourhood that they frequent, and of which the influence has mainly to be considered. It is, perhaps, too much to ask that the influence of music halls and theatres should be positively and entirely good; at any rate no one claims that it is so. If

it is not directly, or on the whole, evil, or if one can hope that it takes the place of something worse, a measure of improvement may be indicated. This can, I think, be claimed. It is not very much. A tendency in the direction of the drama, which is certainly an advance, may be noticed in music-hall performances, and it is to be regretted that questions arising from the separate licensing of play-houses should check the freedom of development in this direction amongst the halls. Excluding the dramatic pieces or 'sketches,' the production of which is hampered in this way, the attractions most usually offered are those of a low form of art or of blatant national sentiment, neither of which can be carried further without becoming worse ; or of displays of physical strength and skill on the part of acrobats and gymnasts, or of performing animals ; all representing, indeed, a background of patient and unwearied effort, but involving, it cannot but be supposed, not a little cruelty in the training of children and animals necessary to secure the rewards of popularity. But the 'variety' of the entertainments increases. In addition to conjuring and ventriloquism, which are old fashioned, we have now, for instance, the cinematograph and various forms of the phonograph, and there has been much development in the forms of stage dancing.

Limitations in the form of entertainment apply less to the halls in Central London, where, for instance, beautiful and elaborate ballets are produced. These fashionable resorts have the best of everything that can be offered, and the performances, consequently, reach a perfection which silences criticism in that respect, though in some cases there may remain ground for attack on the score of encouraging vice. In these palaces of amusement even music is not neglected. The orchestra at the Alhambra is very famous, whilst those at the Empire and the Palace are also excellent. But in

the minor halls, development is never in the direction of music. Strange as it may sound, anything that can rightly be called music is seldom produced at a local music hall. The only exceptions I call to mind are a performance of Lancashire bell ringers and the vagaries of a musical clown on his violin. In this respect, the efforts of negro minstrelsy have been far superior. Perhaps music might some day find its way in through operatic sketches, if these were encouraged.

The taste for music, and for good music, in all classes, is undoubted. 'People' (says a London County Councillor) 'will not put up with any sort of music; they appreciate good music, and insist on having it.' 'They appreciate the best music you can give them,' remarks the Superintendent of a Wesleyan Mission. They may not be so ready to pay for it, but they find pleasure in hearing it, will take trouble to go where it is given, and will pay a little—will pay to enter the enclosure near the band stand, or for a reserved seat when the rest are free. Good music would seem to be amongst the things which can with safety be supplied collectively, and in this matter, as in others, the London County Council are showing the way. Voluntary effort in the same direction is exemplified by the People's Concert Society and by the choral societies and orchestras connected with many of the churches, Polytechnics and Settlements.

Over this matter Sunday becomes the bone of contention. On the one side it is said that to supply such attractions outside tends to empty the churches, or if given inside to lower the flag of religion; and on the other that the churches can, without going beyond their *rôle*, 'hold their own,' and never will do more, and that it is from the delights of the public-houses and the charms of the streets, and from homes that fail to delight and lack all charm, that the people are drawn to Sunday concerts or to the parks

when the band plays. In confirmation of the latter view we were told at Greenwich that at the outset publicans readily set forth in their windows the bills announcing the times at which the band performances took place, but that they do so no longer. One of them (it was added) had said that his takings had been reduced £7 or £8. But we have also heard much of the increasing difficulty of holding the young people at church or Bible-class when the band is playing, and some, no doubt, are drawn from both directions.

§ 3

BETTING

'You must change the people a bit before you'll stop betting; police orders won't do it;' 'Impossible to stop it without changing the character of the working man, which in twenty-one years shows no change;' 'Betting goes on, and always will;' 'What is a fine of £5 to a bookmaker? He pays it, and goes on again'—such are samples of the opinions that have reached us from many sources. But the system adopted reflects the attacks made on the practice. 'It is not largely carried on in public-houses. The betting men are known to the police, and the publican might lose his licence.' Tobacconists and newsvendors act as agents on the quiet, and so do barbers (always the confidants of their customers), and a great deal is still done in the streets, especially in the dinner-hour. The bookmakers move about and seek their clients in place of their clients seeking them, and are thus less open to interference. A magistrate can only impose a fine of £5, and that is not heavy enough to deter. An occasional fine is rather an advertisement than a hin-

drance. 'What's the good of carrying me off?' said one man, 'you know well enough that it's not me, but my guv'nor who pays.'

In spite of all attempted interference, there is no doubt that the habit is on the increase. 'Increasing beyond what you could imagine,' says one of the clergy. 'All must bet. Women as well as men. Bookies stand about and meet men as they come to and from their work. The police take no notice. See the sudden life in a street after a great race has been run and the newspaper is out: note the eagerness with which the papers are read. Boys on bicycles with reams of pink paper in a cloth bag on their back, scorching through the streets, tossing bundles to little boys waiting for them at street corners. Off rush the little boys shouting at the tops of their voices, doors and factory gates open, men and boys tumble out in their eagerness to read the latest "speshul" and mark the winner.' Every day the sporting papers have a vast circulation; they are found in every public-house and every coffee-shop. They are read, and the news and the tips given are discussed before the bets are placed. 'The more money there is to spend, the more betting is done.' 'Men, women, and children are all in it.'

The Jews especially, of all classes, are great gamblers. I have in my mind the picture of a little Jew boy in a very poor street, playing pitch and toss all by himself, studying the laws of chance in this humble fashion.

'Betting,' said a police inspector, 'is increasing out of all proportion to other forms of vice,' and he did not think it would ever be stopped. He himself has had 'one man up five times already in the month, each time convicted, each time fined £5, but beginning again at once,' and he knew that if he went out at that very moment he would find him booking bets. 'Gambling,'

say the clergy (and by this betting is chiefly meant) 'presses drink hard as the greatest evil of the day;' 'all gamble more than they drink,' 'newspapers, knowledge of arithmetic, more holidays, all encourage it.'

Gambling clubs are equally irrepressible. They are raided, and perhaps closed, but are opened again, or make a fresh start in some way. One of our informants said he had heard the proprietor of one such place, after being fined, say to his friends, on leaving the Court, that the club would be open for play as usual that evening.

I offer these few quotations for what they are worth. They fairly reflect the opinions expressed to us. But the subject needs special study, as do some of the others treated in this volume.

I will conclude this section with an account of a night visit to a gambling and dancing club:

Our conductor, formerly a workman, but now an employer of labour, champion light-weight boxer of his local club, and best known by a fancy nickname which I need not divulge, is very well thought of in his own neighbourhood, where he acts as judge or referee in most pugilistic contests; but the club to which he took us is elsewhere. After changing his work-a-day dress for frock coat, top hat, and gloves, he first picked up a friend, who is a regular member of this club, so that there might be no trouble about getting in. We proceeded by cab, and arriving at about 12.45 found the place just beginning to fill, but not many people there. Entry from the street was through a curtain into a passage, where there was a porter, then through a door into a large dancing room; piano at one end, bar at the other, seats and small tables round the sides; about eight women and several young men clerks, and a few middle-aged tradesmen there. The women were of the 'unfortunate' class, but behaving very respectably. A lady at the piano strummed waltzes and there was some dancing. An introduction to the manager—a short thick-set man, professional in the boxing line—was followed by soda and whiskey and

cigarettes and talk, in which the histories of the ladies present were retailed.

Then we proceeded upstairs to the gambling room, where we found about sixty young and middle-aged men round a table playing *chemin de fer*, and betting with one another whether the banker or punter would win. While we were there, there was never more than £6 on the table at once. No sum staked was under one shilling, or, so far as we saw, over twenty shillings. The majority of the young men were markedly Jewish. The older men might have been artisans or shopkeepers, probably both were represented. At one side of the room was the tape machine, on the information from which at race times there is a good deal of betting during the day. There was no excitement at all about the gaming, and not the slightest interest shown at our entry. No drinks were served upstairs.

§ 4

DRINK

It is to the habit of drinking and its results that the following notes refer. Questions of remedy will be touched upon later. There is, as regards these habits, a consensus of opinion which to my mind carries conviction, that while there is more drinking there is less drunkenness than formerly, and that the increase in drinking is to be laid mainly to the account of the female sex. This latter phase seems to be one of the unexpected results of the emancipation of women. On the one hand she has become more independent of man, industrially and financially, and on the other more of a comrade than before, and in neither capacity does she feel any shame at entering a public-house. As a rule, when men and women drink together, the man stands treat, but women treat each other as much, and even more than, is the case

with men. Thus the social side of the consumption of alcohol is emphasized, and to this may perhaps be ascribed very largely the combination of more drinking with less drunkenness, of which almost everyone speaks. Drunkenness, on the whole, is anti-social. 'A really heavy drinker, one who soaks for ten days or a fortnight, without eating any solids, does not sit long over it as a rule, but goes home to come back when ready for more.' Women are far more sociable in this matter. 'One drunken woman in a street will set all the women in it drinking. A woman is so often talking with her neighbours; if she drinks they go with her.' Moreover, for men, 'pony glasses' have been invented to meet the case of 'come and have something,' when neither side wants to drink at all, and only does so as a step in some business transaction. Among men who drink more shame is felt than used to be the case at having been drunk. 'Much more is drunk than formerly,' says one witness, speaking of some of the rough Irish, 'but there is less drunkenness, partly because the beer is lighter, but more because of a change in manners; nowadays you drink, and the more you drink the better man you are, but you must not be visibly drunk. Outward drunkenness is an offence against the manners of all classes.' The ideal is to 'carry your drink like a gentleman.' Of women it is however said, that 'they let the whole world know if they have had too much.'

Such is the position, looked at in a very broad and general way, but there are diversities of opinion affected by the point of view of the observer, as well as by the class observed, and once more I offer my readers a patchwork of quotations. They are drawn from the police, from the clergy, ministers of religion, and missionaries, from schoolmasters and others. Drinking habits and the disorderliness resulting from them could not but be continually mentioned in the

course of the long walks taken in all parts of London day after day with the picked police officers who were permitted to assist us during the revision of our maps; and we had the advantage of discussing these and other cognate subjects with their divisional superiors. For the rest, I, of course, attach no names to the opinions I quote, nor do I indicate the precise locality to which they bore reference, but only when needed indicate the class.*

As regards women: 'Many more women are seen in public-houses; the middle-aged are the drunkards, not the young. Young people do their courting in public-houses, since both sides are rather ashamed of their homes, and like to make themselves out a class above what they are. The young men treat the girls to a glass of wine. No harm comes of it. It is not till they get older that women take to gin and ale and become regular soakers.' Again: 'Girls begin when they first go out "keeping company"; neither sex become confirmed soakers before twenty-five or thirty, or with women till after marriage. The drunkards are probably married women.' Another police officer said: 'Drunkenness among women is on the increase,' but added that he had never seen a girl under fifteen drunk, and that it was never common before marriage. 'They take too much at times, but are surprised at their own state. They do not drink for drinking's sake, and very little upsets them, especially on an empty stomach. That is why so many are noisy on Saturday, when they are paid and let out early, having had no lunch. They take a nip and become hilarious in no time.' And another says: 'Factory girls drink,

* My attention has been called to the increase in the convictions for drunkenness in London during the last two or three years. I do not attempt to reconcile this with the statements in the text, which none the less truly reflect the opinions universally expressed to us. It is possible that since the Jubilee and during the war there has been an increase in drunkenness as well as in the consumption of alcohol. Most of my evidence was prior to the war fever.

but it is more often the young married women and the middle-aged who indulge too much. Men drink beer; women more often spirits. Women drink more than they used to, perhaps because they earn more.'

'There are various classes of women drinkers: the factory girl who drinks once in a way, the prostitute who drinks in the course of business and very seldom gets drunk, the laundry-woman who drinks by reason of the thirsty nature of her trade, and the married woman who drinks because her husband drinks.' 'Women have lost all shame about entering a public-house, and as they never drink singly, the evil spreads.' 'Public-houses are more attractive than they were; ladies' saloon bars are to be seen everywhere. Publicans tell you that it is in response to a demand, but it is difficult to distinguish between cause and effect.' Such are other police opinions.

The clergy of the Church of England, Nonconformist ministers and schoolmasters may be quoted to the same effect, though perhaps in some cases with more of a teetotal bias, or with less sense of proportion. That 'drinking has increased enormously among women' is heard again and again, and very rarely anything to mitigate this opinion, only that it is added, 'Young women do not get drunk, unless on Bank holidays or at marriages or funerals.' 'Drink worse than ever,' we are told, 'especially amongst women'; and this it is felt is 'a funny thing in face of all the agencies.' 'Women drink to excess more than men. They take to it largely to carry them through their work.' And again: 'The women are worse than the men, but their drinking is largely due to their slavery at the wash-tub.' Of the same class it is said, 'Nearly all get drunk on Monday. They say "we have our fling; we like to have a little fuddle on Monday."' And of a yet lower class we hear that they 'live on four-ale and fried fish.'

The master of a poor school speaks of the habit of drinking among the women being very general; 'even quite respectable mothers, when they come to see him in the morning, nearly always smell of drink.' Two other masters also mention the large proportion of mothers who smell of beer when they come to see them at the schools; while a schoolmistress, 'judging from the women who come to see her, infers that nearly all have a morning dram.' 'The poorest and most destitute seem,' she says, 'to look upon drink as the first necessity of life.' A Board school teacher at school in a poor neighbourhood says that the attendance is worst early in the week, while the public-houses are full of women; 'the children being at home while the mothers drink.'

The increase of the habit among women still applies as we pass slightly upwards in the social scale. It is said to be 'the regular thing for women to go in and have a drink when shopping,' and another witness notices the 'marked increase in the number of respectably dressed young women who drink.' They may be respectable as well as respectably dressed. One of the East End clergy told how a woman who had been talking to him on the subject said that 'when she was young no one would have dreamt of going inside a public-house. But things have altered. Her son is engaged, and the girl goes with him there sometimes. In earlier years you would have put her down as not respectable, but not so now.' A member of an Anglican Sisterhood put it that 'the time had long since gone by for regarding it as a scandal that a woman should drink at the public-house.' And an 'old resident,' speaking of the increase of drinking among women, says: 'You cannot but see it: respectable women go into public-houses without any compunction, a sort of thing never seen until late years.'

Amongst the better-to-do, also, drinking is stated to be worse than it used to be, 'especially among women.' 'Every doctor will tell you that women have acquired the habit of "nipping."' Some (said this witness) accuse grocers' licences, but he did not himself attach much importance to them. The real reason was, he said, that the women had so little to do. 'All round London are growing up suburbs of small houses whose occupants have just enough to live on comfortably. Women left at home; small ailments; immediate stimulus of drink; that is how it begins.' Another agrees that 'the habit of drinking among women is most often contracted by young wives whose husbands are away all day.' 'Shop girls who marry find the loneliness in the suburbs unbearable after shop life.' Emphasis is also laid by many on the increasing amount of secret drinking among strictly middle-class women, and the taking of morphia and other drugs, as a result, perhaps, of home troubles, and medical men are blamed for not being careful enough when they prescribe stimulants. But the most objectionable drinking is described as being found among retired men of this class who have nothing to do and pass their time in going from saloon bar to saloon bar. Thus do 'City habits lead to disaster.'

Of the increased and respectable uses made of public-houses by young women we have, as our quotations show, heard much; and it may be noted that the age of limitation, the age at which liquor may be supplied to the young, agrees with their natural tastes; indeed, sweets remain in the ascendant for some years longer with most young women. Alcohol is seldom any temptation to the young, but nevertheless, the habit may be acquired and become a temptation later. It is directly on this account and indirectly on others, that legislation has been introduced to check the practice of sending children to fetch the drink required by

their parents. At the time of our inquiry this subject was before the public, the Bill had not yet passed through Parliament, and the *pros* and *cons* were in everyone's mouth. The matter is now settled; we have only to see how the law works in practice; and if I reproduce some of the statements and arguments connected with it, it is mainly on account of the light they throw on the habits of the people, but partly also as concerning the whole general policy of control of the liquor trade by licence.

A parish nurse, working in the East End, said that 'as to drink, there is more there among women than among men. They drink beer, or rather porter, not spirits, and always in company. When once inside a public-house, they stay there. For this reason she believed that if a law were passed (she was speaking in 1898) prohibiting children from fetching the dinner and supper beer, it would do distinct harm to East London. It was to her a sad thing to see children going into the public-house, but she could not honestly say that it did them any harm. She had never seen a child the worse for drink. They sip the beer, but only on the general principle that they take a little of everything they are sent to fetch; and if it were milk they would take a great deal more of it. Children of the rough class fetch the beer from the public bar because they are often given a penny by some of the men there; children of the better class go into the jug and bottle entrance, get their beer, and go away at once. Sweets are given, but not as a general thing.' The giving of sweets by publicans is forbidden by law, with the idea that children will fetch drink with less alacrity if this encouragement is denied them, but to set against this, a child who is sucking a sweet will certainly not sip the beer. The object of giving the sweets was to induce the child to pass other public-houses in order to reach one which was liberal in this

respect. Many shops adopt the same plan to secure the patronage of child messengers. It is improbable that any more drink would be sent for because of the child's willingness to go, or that any greater familiarity with the public-house would result.

The principal of a Ladies' Settlement (speaking in 1899) said she 'had only once seen a child the worse for drink, and that was from drink that had been given to it by its parents. She had often seen them sip, especially in hot weather, but children do not care for the taste of beer. They much prefer sweets. She herself used to be rather glad than otherwise when she saw that the beer was sent for, and that the woman did not go herself. The attractiveness of the public-house to the child is not inside but outside. The lights are bright, the pavement is carefully mended and smoother for marbles and other games; organs and niggers come to play and sing there; and at night there is the sight of the drunken man being chucked out or trying to get home; sometimes he is hauled off by the policeman. Children spend their money on sweets, and some say that the habit of sucking induces a craving in the palate which later is satisfied by drink. In any case, more harm is done to children by sweets than by beer.'

A police superintendent (from the same district as the nurse quoted above and speaking in 1897) said: 'There is not much harm in sending children to fetch beer—absolutely none in this district; the language and atmosphere is no worse in a public-house than what they hear at home. Besides, it would not prevent the children frequenting the houses which they look upon as a sort of paradise. It is always to them that they are taken by their parents for a cake or sweets. They go there from babyhood upwards. To send them there to fetch a pint of beer is no demoralization for them, or the introduction to anything new

and harmful. In better-class districts, where the parents do not frequent the public-house, it would probably be better not to send the children. They always sip the beer they are sent to fetch; he has noticed it scores of times, but does not think they acquire their taste for beer in this way.'

To the above I may add a picture from our own notes (1899) of the dinner hour in a poor South London quarter:—'Children going in large numbers to the public-house at the corner with jugs for the dinner beer; no sipping; our companion, the police sergeant, knows it is not usual to think so, but has never been able to see any harm come of it himself. One child looked as though she were sucking a sweet as she came out, but the others did not: it was constant come and go, one moment to go in and get the jug filled, and out again the next; none of the children waited to talk or play with one another, but at once hurried home.'

Of the police spoken to on the subject, some had, and some had not, noticed the children sipping the beer they carried. The question is not, perhaps, of great importance. The children could not take much without being detected. To drink out of a jug at all without spilling the contents, must be difficult for a small child; and if much were lost, there would be trouble. If, however, the mere tasting of the drink be the danger it was sought to avoid, is it to be supposed that opportunities for this would not have occurred in homes where beer was being constantly drunk? But, in fact, children do not really care for it, and with open heart are quite ready to join and faithfully obey the rules of their Bands of Hope.

The question of familiarity with the public-house, engendered by being constantly sent there, is more serious. Even those who think no harm comes

of it, would very likely not allow their own children to go, but if legislation can do nothing in this respect for the child whose home is on the level of the public-house, neither is it required for those whose homes are superior. It might therefore seem to have been a waste of good effort to pass this particular restriction, when so many of greater importance are sadly required.

If we leave the children themselves out of account, it may however be argued that if they cannot be sent, it is tantamount to reducing the facilities for procuring drink, and that less will therefore be taken. It is likely that in some instances this would be so, but we have to consider the alternatives. Instead of a young child, a boy, or more probably a girl of over sixteen, may be sent. Would that be an improvement? The presence of a child, we are told, has often a marvellous effect. 'Consider the child' is a rebuke to which, thank God, no man refuses to listen. Behaviour at the public bar is more likely to gain, than the child to suffer. But with a young girl how would this stand? And it must be remembered that she *is* allowed to take drink, and perhaps is beginning to have a taste for it. It is no question of sipping, but of some man standing treat. That the wife should herself fetch the beer is a better alternative, but if instead of taking it at home with their meal, those who want it adjourn to the public-house to drink there, this plan is surely not to be desired, and is likely to lead to more rather than less being consumed.

To return to the more general aspect of the question. Whether the people drink less or not, the police are practically agreed in saying that they are much less rowdy than formerly: 'Totally different people to what they were thirty-three years ago,' said one who joined the force then; an improvement which he claims

has extended also to publicans and the police themselves, of whom the latter are now an almost entirely sober body of men, while the former are much more respectable and steady, and for the most part careful as to the conduct of their houses. 'The modern publican is of a totally different type to the man of twenty years ago, with his white hat and black band, and his bull dog: the decayed prize-fighter type. The publican now is usually well educated; respectable, and a keen man of business, who can keep his own accounts in proper order, and fully realizes that it is to his interest that the law should be strictly observed in his house.' As to drink, this last witness reiterated the opinion that there had been a great decrease, if not of drinking, certainly of drunkenness, and was one of the few who asserted that the alleged increase among women was not a fact, the true way of putting it being that drink had decreased among men, but not, or at all events not in the same degree, among women. As to drunkenness he said, 'Go and look at Hampstead Heath on Bank Holiday and compare it with what it was twenty years ago, or walk in the streets on Saturday night.'

The drunkenness that occurs is not held to be so serious an evil as the impoverishment that results from the habit of drinking. A schoolmaster, whose school is in North London, speaks of the enormous amount spent, though the district is not drunken; whilst amongst our extracts from the views of the clergy we find such opinions as, 'Not much drunkenness but an appalling amount spent in drink; out of all proportion to earnings;' and 'Amazingly thrifty in many respects and not drunkards, but spend an enormous proportion of their earnings in drink.' A similar view is expressed by two medical officers connected with the Poor Law, one of whom, an outdoor superintendent, speaks of 'drink as leading to pauperism, not because of actual drunkenness, but because of the habitual spending

of so large a portion of their earnings in this way. 'Alcoholism,' he adds, 'is a disease affecting all classes, but it is not this which is the prevailing mischief, but the general drinking habit. Insurance money, payable at death, apart from the extravagance in funeral trappings, goes largely in drink, and it is surprising how quickly widows who have had £20 insurance money find their way to the relief office.' The other medical officer said that many cases came into the infirmary through drink, but it was on account of the exhaustion of means which, otherwise, would have sufficed to pay for treatment outside.

'Drink is not conspicuous,' said a London City missionary working in Mile End, 'but the people drink enough to keep them poor. A man and wife earning twenty-four shillings would spend four shillings to six shillings in this way and be temperate.' It is a common thing, we hear from others, for labourers who are seldom, if ever, drunk to spend one-fourth of their earnings in drink. A temperance man might give his wife twenty-three shillings out of twenty-five shillings, a moderate drinker twenty shillings. 'When converted they give up drink and save five shillings a week,' such is the simple arithmetic of this subject. But it is also said that the more money there is to spend amongst those not accustomed to having it in their possession the more of it goes in this way. The police couple increased drink with increased wages, averring that 'a great amount of drunkenness is still a sure sign of work being plentiful. It is then that the police are also busiest.'* 'There is also increase of drunkenness at each holiday season, but this does not lead to a great increase on the charge sheet because the police are lenient at these times. If a man can get home anyhow he is allowed to do it, whereas on an ordinary day he would have been run in

* The discrepancy referred to in a note on page 61, may perhaps find its explanation as above.

for a certainty.' Still 'Bank Holidays are the worst thing for the police.' 'Bank Holidays are a curse,' at any rate from the police point of view.

'The tipple of the labourer (and for the most part that of the artisan) is beer. The class above more often take whiskey.' 'A steady artisan will drink two quart pots (or 8*d*) a day.' 'If you sweat you may drink with impunity.' The following we are told is a working man's account of how men of his class get drunk: 'We have a pint of beer and then "two" of rum; then another fellow asks you to have a whiskey'; a very injudicious mixture.

Upon the connection of poverty, or at any rate the poverty that seeks charitable relief, with drink, the statements are uncompromising. A Wesleyan minister, referring to claims on their relief fund, stated that in almost every application the necessity was traced ultimately to drink on the part of man or wife 'or both.' A Congregationalist says that 'he came to London believing that the influence of drink was much exaggerated, but has been convinced that it is at the root of all the poverty and distress with which they come into contact; with every case of distress that is relieved they always find afterwards that drink has been the cause of leakage.' A Church of England vicar speaks of it as 'the great trouble; the main cause of all the poverty. In almost every application for relief there is a history of drink.' He began with a determination not to help when either parent was a drunkard, but has found this impossible. Apart from drunkenness he emphasized the fearful extravagance in drink. A lay Church worker while agreeing that though there might be no actual decrease in drinking, 'there were fewer outward signs of drunkenness in the streets,' said that 'in almost every case that came under his notice for assistance there was a history of drink, not necessarily in the life of the actual applicant, but at least

somewhere in the background.' And a relieving officer of an adjoining Union confirms this, saying that 'though there is less rowdiness, the general habits of drinking have not decreased,' and that in his experience 'in all applications for relief, except from widows, cripples, and the aged, the ultimate, if not immediate cause of poverty is drink.'

I could multiply evidence such as this; and the great part played by drink in the genesis of poverty cannot be denied. A leading member of the Charity Organization Society, for instance, states that 'they generally find that more or less directly drink comes in as an explanation of trouble in the home, drink taking a high place in the competing attractions of life.' It is this that makes it in his view so necessary that there should be a strong impulse competing with it and with correlative weaknesses, such as idleness, and causes him to advocate extreme severity in the administration of the Poor Law and great strictness in the distribution of charity.

But I think it will be seen even from these extracts that it is not really possible to isolate drink as a cause of poverty. It plays a part, and a great part, but it is only as the accompaniment of idleness, extravagance, incompetence, or ill-health that it is fatal. 'The tendency among church workers,' says one of the clergy, 'is to be much harder on drink than they used to be. Everybody who takes a drop "drinks": "Mrs. Smith," says the Scripture Reader; "oh, she's a boozer," when probably the luckless body only has her dinner beer.' To trace every misfortune to drink is a device similar to the 'Who is she?' of the Eastern despot.

In an early volume I attempted to give an arithmetical expression to the place occupied by drink in connection with poverty. I will not attempt the task again, but will merely conclude by quoting from my

notes a few more pregnant remarks and telling one story.

The story is that of an unmitigated case mentioned by a London City missionary:—'A family with four children occupying one room—the woman, a poor, wretched, ragged creature; the man, a drunkard, earning thirty shillings a week as a dustman, and probably making forty shillings a week in all. No furniture but the frame of a bedstead, an old straw palliasse, and one sheet. The baby lay covered with a jacket. The missionary saw the man helped indoors from the public-house at the corner, and within an hour his wife helped him back again.'

From this lowest depth we pass with a sense of relief to the 'hard-working set of people in Bethnal Green,' mentioned by one of our police guides, 'who work honestly for their living, and only get drunk on Saturday nights,' or even to the big-boned men of Bermondsey, 'whose sole idea it is to bury their nose in a quart pot.' 'The trade that drinks the most (says another of our police guides) is that of the French polishers,' but it is added rather sweepingly that 'the whole furniture trade keeps "Saint Monday" and "works a ghost" on Friday night to make this possible.' A third officer gives the palm in the matter of drink, to the building trade. Boot and shoe makers and others are also mentioned in the same connection, and coal porters especially, but of none of these can it be said that they are more likely than most to ask charitable assistance, or to come upon the Poor Law. Compared to those who indulge in drink, the numbers who fall into destitution are small. Can it then reasonably be said to be caused by the drink? 'Were those upon whom the tower of Siloam fell guilty above all others?'

Then some excuses are offered: 'Much drinking,' the out-door medical officer of one of the Unions

believes, 'is due to poor victuals and bad cooking. The matron of an East End Nursing Association thinks that 'the standard of cooking and domestic economy is lower than it was, due to the preference for factory life over domestic service, and connects increase in drinking habits with increase in the discomfort of the homes.' She would have these household subjects taught more widely. 'It is no use preaching against drink; men must have somewhere to go in the evening.' The head master of a school, also in the East End, says the same: 'With such homes as they have, men must go out at night; there can be no improvement until the homes are better. In this matter we go round in a vicious circle, for if they earn more, they are so accustomed to bad homes, that the extra money goes not to the home, but to the pub.' Another medical officer is not at all surprised that drinking habits prevail, considering the conditions under which the people live: 'They must have some solace and amusement.' To the better home life of the Jews, based on their religious ceremonial and its solemn recognition of family duties, is attributed their greater sobriety. They are not teetotalers. 'The only thing which will decrease drunkenness,' says one of the clergy, 'is the increase of self respect.' All these happen to speak of East London; but what they say is true wherever poverty and drink are found together.

It is further pointed out that 'drink which is not drunkenness is the only mental stimulus the poor have: you or I take a book, and so get into a new world and change of thought; the poor have very little of this, therefore they drink. The cure,' added this witness, who is rector of a large North London parish, 'is not to forbid drinking, which at present is a necessity to them, but by degrees to supply a different sort of stimulus. With clerks the greatest preventive of drink has been the bicycle.' Another of the Church

of England clergy, speaking of women, said, 'Worry is what they suffer from, rest and hope what they want. Drunkenness dulls the sense of present evil and gives a rosiness to what is to come. That is why they drink.'

From the religious point of view it is remarked that teetotalism is apt to become a cult of its own, of a rather narrow kind, and it is added that 'those who yield to the seductions of temperance are sometimes too much bitten by the idea of saving.' But carping such as this leaves untouched the great main fact to which we have endless testimony, that 'Christian people are nearly all temperate and thrifty,' and the better in every way for being so.

§ 5

CLUBS

(1) *For Working Men.*—In my first volume an account was given of the working men's clubs in East London, as they were in 1888. I divided them into those which can be entered by a visitor and those which cannot: the latter being almost invariably used for gambling, while the former have again to be divided into those in which beer is sold, and those conducted on a teetotal basis. The teetotal clubs we found to be all financed, more or less, from outside, and to have some moral or religious aim. The independent clubs obtained their main support by the sale of beer, and were frequently in debt to the brewer. Some of the independent clubs had a political aim, while others were social institutions only, but the social element tended to prevail in all, not excepting those fostered by the churches. This general descrip-

tion of working men's clubs holds good to-day, and applies to all parts of London, wherever the clubs exist, no less than to the East End.

In the account referred to, the various dangers surrounding these institutions were not disguised, but were referred to in a hopeful spirit. The time that has elapsed since has put the matter to the proof, and I fear it cannot be said that the dangers have been successfully avoided. On the whole the superintended clubs with philanthropic or religious aim have failed. Either they have to drop the objects they have had in view, or the working men drop the clubs, and then, if kept open at all, they become a mere rendezvous for Church workers. And the other clubs, while maintaining their independence, have in too many cases suffered in character. The charge was already made in 1888, and was met by pointing out that in judging them, it would be unfair to take too high a standard. The same argument can still be used, but unfortunately the attacks made have gathered weight.

I have made no further direct inquiries, and merely quote what is said by the clergy, ministers of religion, the police and others. Some bias must perhaps be allowed for, but the consensus of condemnation is very strong.

One club in North Central London, is described by the police as 'a rough, low-class drinking club, very noisy on Saturdays and Sundays; no respectable man would belong to it.' It, however, has been closed. From another part of North London we have: 'The * * * * * * Working Men's Club is in this street—a noisy set of members; the street would be very glad if the club could be moved out;' and a somewhat similar club more centrally situated is spoken of as 'a curse to the district, men staying drinking there till three or four in the morning.' Of a smaller club further West the police merely report, 'plenty of

drinking here, especially on Sunday,' adding that the members 'give no trouble'; and other clubs are spoken of casually as 'noisy sometimes,' and as 'still rough, but not so bad as in the past.' 'Much drinking, a poor class of entertainment, and much waste of time,' sums up the opinion of another police officer, not himself a teetotaler, and of the particular club in question he quoted with full agreement the verdict that it was 'a nuisance in the street.' 'The "sight" outside the club on Sunday morning just before eleven, the hour at which it opened, told clearly the kind of use to which it would be put during the day.' Of course, if there were nothing to complain of, nothing as a rule would have been said to us, and as there are many clubs, a considerable margin is left for those that may be well conducted. There is one case in which a large club (also in North London) is particularly referred to as 'kept in very good order.' This witness expressed the opinion that 'to some men clubs do a good deal of harm, there being those who might have been kept clear of drink if it had not been for clubs, while there are some who stay in the public-house until closing-time and then, instead of going home, go across to the club, where the "enough" they have had becomes "too much."' So far the police. It is not surprising that the clergy, and others who may probably be teetotalers, should be yet more emphatic.

One of the clergy, speaking for a part of South London, describes the Radical and other clubs as 'dens of iniquity'; and one of his neighbours calls them 'drinking hells,' adding that the names 'Radical' and 'Conservative' are simply blinds; while a school-master in another part of London speaks of the very evil influence of the clubs, especially those which call themselves Radical, though he is a Radical himself. It is remarkable that one of the clubs now closed, to which the police gave a bad character and which was

described by the clergy as 'the most blackguard institution in * * * * * *, with the worst class of membership,' was also attacked for its pauperizing influence, in the giving of dinners to poor children. A deacon of a Congregational church, who had lived opposite one of the clubs referred to as disorderly by the police, tells how 'the men used to turn out at from 12.30 to 2 in the morning and would join hands in the road and sing "Auld Lang Syne."' It is represented that the women are demoralized as well as the men by being 'taken to orgies,' but as a rule 'both wives and mothers complain of the influence.' The general view of our religious witnesses is that the clubs are 'the haunt of all that is bad,' and worse in every respect than the public-houses.

Of the failure of men's clubs conducted under religious influence as a step towards church-going much has been said in previous volumes: 'You mention religion and they say good-night.' Often, too, the clubs get out of hand and have to be closed. We hear of gambling losses settled by adjournment to the public-house over the way in order to evade the club rules; and of another case when a large club run on teetotal lines led to the enlargement of the public-house next door, and its sale at a high price on the ground of its advantageous situation! In one way or another, when 'an open club is tried,' the ungodly are apt to get in and contaminate the godly. Sometimes, when opened on the widest ground, a club may be a social success and have a valuable humanizing influence, even though 'not a single man is brought to the church;' but to attain success on these lines, 'without the sale of beer, or without abuses of some kind creeping in, especially gambling,' strict supervision seems to be necessary. 'Working men are not capable of supplying the control needed;' and

one of the clergy who has himself organized a very large club for clerks and shop assistants says that in this respect they, too, are not able to manage their own affairs any more than the working men. What is said is that 'while there must be apparent freedom of action, there must be some point where they come against a superior power. They do not possess the self-restraint necessary for self-management.'

(2) *Boys' Clubs.* The majority of these are managed in connection with religious organizations. They seem, to the more impatient, to go on best with 'no committee, no written rules;' but, however managed, it is 'hard work for curates;' obligatory attendance at a Bible-class being administered medicinally, with cricket and football to take the taste away. Such of them as have no direct connection with religious bodies are none the less devoted to the improvement of the boys' characters, and those who conduct them are one and all imbued with deep religious feeling. A difficulty sometimes occurs as to age limits. It is best to begin at an early age, and necessary to group the boys according to their years. Perhaps an absolute limit is desirable; institutions, such as the polytechnics, opening their doors when the others close; for a complete series of clubs can rarely be maintained successfully at any single centre. One very interesting solution makes the juvenile club the sole entrance into that for seniors, but this plan can only apply with small and very 'personally conducted' clubs. Another basis may be found in getting together 'old boys' from some Board school. In such cases permission has been granted for the use of class rooms to meet in, and if leaders were forthcoming, it might be possible to establish clubs of this simple kind in all parts of London, which might gradually lead to something more.

(3) *Girls' Clubs* constitute a far more important social movement than boys' clubs, and although, as regards

the *recognition* of religion, girls fall in with it readily, and may even be said to expect it, their clubs, as compared with those for boys, have to a far greater extent a life of their own, independent of religious organization. There is a 'Girls' Club Union," to which many of these clubs are affiliated, and in their interest a magazine is published, as well as other literature, and the cause has at once a leader and exponent in Miss Stanley, to whose book on the subject I would refer.* Her own club is a model of successful management. The characteristics of the various clubs are largely determined by locality, but all aim at classes of some kind, this element being felt to be essential. Still, recreation is the principal aim in every case; the object being to teach the girls to take their pleasures in a rational way, and it is in this direction that success mainly has been won. The success in the case of Miss Stanley's own club she attributes to the co-operation of ladies; it has been the free and friendly intercourse which their help has rendered possible, that has made the individual influence exercised so strong, and the club so excellent a centre. The girls behave well.

The need for these clubs is no less marked than is their success when established and carried on upon the right lines. Without some such help to keep hopes and aims as high as possible, and to make existence reasonably happy, girls are apt to deteriorate very rapidly when childhood is past. In every direction, for good as well as evil, girls are very impressionable. So rapidly do they respond to good influences that we hear of one girls' club being so effective as regards its earlier members, and the change in their manners so great, that it became difficult to induce the rough ones from outside to join; and this tendency, which is not uncommon with both boys' and girls' clubs, is always

* *Clubs for Working Girls.* Macmillan.

carried yet further by the fact that those without who never have been rough are eager to join, and so, though the club is perhaps still equally useful, its whole character changes. When this happens, a new club of the old type, although very often it cannot be started, is the only real solution of the practical problem presented.

The influence exerted on the girls, of whatever class they be, is not only said to be distinctly moral, but to lead to some postponement of the age of marriage. Having other interests, their conversation becomes less flighty, not to say less vicious, and their conduct more restrained. If their evenings are happily occupied, they are less likely to fly in foolish haste from the discomforts of the old home to the too probable miseries of the new. Marriage is more seriously undertaken.

§ 6

MINOR NOTES

There are some points of interest concerning the habits of the people as to which I have gathered stray items of information, and in the following pages these are given haphazard, without comment. No attempt has been made to add to or complete them by special inquiry, but as illustrations they may be found suggestive.

1. Money Matters

(*a*) *Pawnbrokers.*—It is, we are told, no good for an outsider to enter this trade. It is a 'father to son' business, needing special knowledge of the value of the things pledged, and still more of the people pledging them, their habits, and their motives. There are grades of pawnbrokers' shops as there are of other shops, but

the grade depends more directly on the article to be pledged than on the class of the customer. That is, a poor man would not hesitate to enter an establishment in a principal street if he had anything of recognised value to dispose of, but if he has only clothes to 'put away' he goes to a shop where he is known, because he will get more there than elsewhere. Thus it is that local knowledge is of value. If the tradesman knows his customer, and knows that the things pledged are almost sure to be taken out again on Saturday for Sunday's use, he can afford to advance an extra sixpence. On such in and out business, recurring at short intervals, he makes his largest profit. Those who are ashamed of the transaction, and do not wish to be recognised, generally go to some place at a distance from where they live. Monday and Tuesday are the days on which most things are pledged, Wednesday and Thursday being quieter, but on Friday there is a slight increase again, due to those who find that they cannot last out the week without this resource.

Pawnbrokers, all of whom are licensed and most of whom are respectable tradesmen, are not receivers of goods stolen in their own district; nor 'receivers' at all in the technical sense of the word, though their shops may be used extensively for turning into cash things stolen some way off and not easily traced. Each district has its own 'fences,' or professional receivers of stolen goods, and these are well known to all the thieves, so that when any stolen article is at all easily traceable it would go to the 'fence,' and only if not traceable would it be likely to come to the pawnshop.

(*b*) *Money-lending.*—The habit of pawning and the habit of borrowing are cognate difficulties. The facilities for borrowing are numberless, and the practice of money-lending prevails in all poor districts; in the poorest the most—'in the shape of the man who will "sub" in the public-house, in the man who will give "tick," and in every street and court in the person of some one who is prepared to make advances.' Even the Church loan club may be abused by those who, taking advantage of the comparatively low rate of interest charged by it, can borrow to lend again in what may be called 'the open market.' 'Every street has its lender, often a woman,'

is reported from one very poor quarter; while from another we hear that 'there are women who make a trade of it, and who in order to increase their business tempt women, generally younger than themselves, first to drink, and then to borrow.' There is no legal protection to the lender; terrorism is relied on. 'Loaning is a curse.' 'The people, especially the costermongers, are in the grip of the money-lender, with his penny in the shilling per week interest.'

(*c*) *The Tallyman's* cajolery is almost equally dangerous, but applies to better neighbourhoods. Many of these men drive round with their wares in a smart trap, and their groom perhaps wears a cockade. They are peddlers on an extensive scale. 'Their power of talk does it. Wives left at home all day, dull; along comes a tallyman with an oily tongue; they like a gossip, and don't have the chance of seeing many men, so they talk, and then buy.' To match this in the supplying of the poor, the small shops give credit, and are dear compared to the costermongers who sell only for cash. In many better-to-do neighbourhoods the general prevalence of the credit system is noted. People not only buy their furniture, but also their clothing on credit, and even take a loan for a summer holiday. Everywhere, and with almost all classes, the most usual plan is to spend first and save afterwards to repay some form of loan.

(*d*) *Costermongers* are busiest on Sundays and Saturdays, and consequently these days are the quietest in the courts where they live. Things become lively there on Monday, and there are many charges for drunkenness and assaults amongst themselves. In their anger they summon one another freely, but in the end will often subscribe to help their assailant to pay his fine.

Some costermongers are well-to-do, but the majority live a hand-to-mouth existence, and like, it is said, to 'start fresh' (that is with a new loan to buy stock) on Monday.

2. Industrial Questions

(*a*) A very close connection, it is remarked, can often be established between the system of employment and poverty. There are many trades that require boys and youths, and not men. The work can be done by very

young hands, and consequently dismissal often comes at about eighteen years of age. Thus a crop of 'larrikins' are turned out every year, who have started life by earning fairly good wages, but who know no trade, and many of whom are bound to become loafers.

(*b*) On the other hand 'many men over fifty are always out of work. They get a little from one or another of their children; but these have been trained in the same school, and tend to the same end.'

(*c*) 'A large part of the "out of work" is through bad character, but there are a number of poor, helpless, incapable creatures, who just keep their heads above water in the summer, and are thrown out in the winter through no fault of their own.'

(*d*) A leading Congregationalist minister says:—

'Of the type embruted by perpetual dependence on casual employment, it is hopeless to make *men*, while they remain in this condition; but give a man a uniform and a badge, any token that he is something more than a casual, and there will be a complete change in his moral character.'

(*e*) Speaking of the experience of the 'Abbey Mills' test, by which, in connection with a Mansion House 'Unemployed Committee,' employment was provided for persons out of work, one of the local secretaries states that the majority of those dealt with were quite willing to work, but were hopeless, many of them demoralized by years of casual employment at the docks, the reorganization of which may, perhaps, have been the cause of their being finally thrown entirely out of work. The witness adds that, next to drink, casual labour is the most demoralizing influence in the part of London for which he speaks.

(*f*) A Roman Catholic priest, speaking also of dock labourers, asserted that, except for occasional "bursts," his people were willing to work. The normal irregularity was greater than they desired. They were not loafers. And an Anglican curate, working in the same neighbourhood, describes casual labour as 'the curse of the parish.' The men earn good wages when paid by the piece, but probably cannot keep up the pace, and the result is that

they work very hard for a short week; two days on and five days off being a very common thing.

(*g*) Another Catholic says:—

'Men who are regularly employed get into regular ways, and attend to their regular duties. If not employed they tend to become irregular in all sorts of ways, and religion comes in for its share.'

(*h*) 'Women working at washing send their children to school in the morning, and do not themselves return home until 8 or 9 p.m. During the hours after school the children mix with other boys and girls in the streets, hearing and learning all kinds of evil talk and action. Their characters are ruined in those hours.' As an extension of the work of the Recreative Evening Schools Association, this witness (a Baptist minister) suggests that playing halls should be provided, where tea could be obtained at a small cost.

(*i*) 'The lowest class of women who work (says a lady visitor) shell peas in the market; above them in the social scale are box makers. Girls take employment as soon as they leave school, and for the first year or two work intermittently, but afterwards settle into regular factory employment.'

(*j*) 'On either side of the road (runs one of our notes on South London) lies the dust yard of a contractor for several vestries, full of rough, dirty women from the surrounding streets: a disgusting occupation.'

(*k*) 'Nearly all the girls in Central London work at some trade or other. They would not make good servants, and it is a frequent argument of mothers that it is a good thing for them to have something to turn their hands to, so that if they marry and lose their husbands, they are independent. There is a terrible temptation to widows to lead an immoral life, more or less publicly, which may thus be, at least in part, avoided.'

(*l*) 'One of the managers of an Institute says that the girls who come to it are wage-earners, receiving from 7*s* to 21*s* a week at mantle and clothing factories. Numerous breaches of the Factory Acts seem to occur, for which the foremen are perhaps to blame, rather than the employers; but the girls are generally unwilling to talk of it'

(*m*) 'Step-girls do nothing but clean steps, at 2*d* or 3*d* a house. They prefer the freedom they secure, to being general servants. In some districts they are numerous, and their presence throws light on the standard of the lower middle-class households for which they work.'

(*n*) 'Navvies (says an employer of labour) generally work in gangs, and being often too uneducated to share out any odd money contrive to pool it by spending the money on beer.'

3. Resources of the Poor

(*a*) 'Habits of thrift,' it is said, 'must be improving. It would be impossible otherwise to explain the wonderful reserve power of the poor. The poor help each other more than any other class, and there must be resources to a greater extent than is realized.'

(*b*) 'How the poor live (says a nurse) when they are helpless remains a mystery, save for their great kindness to each other, even to those who are strangers. This is the great explanation. It is nearly always the neighbours.'

(*c*) 'It is only the poor that really give (says a Nonconformist witness). Personal help and timely relief are the key notes of the charity of the poor. They know exactly the wants of one another and give when needed.'

(*d*) 'To each other (says a Roman Catholic priest) their goodness is wonderful.'

(*e*) The headmaster of a poor Board school tells us that 'in many cases there is a bitter struggle to live. A good deal of kindness is shown by the poor to one another, but there is also a good deal of jealousy when assistance is given, and the begging spirit is apparent when the scent of gifts is in the air. This, however, is only natural. A mother whose man is out of work, or negligent—too often brutally so; and who has little ones needing food badly, and some sick and ailing—has no fine sense of independence.'

4. Ways of Life

(*a*) 'The men have (says the vicar of a City parish) a good time compared to the women, who lead fearfully hard and almost slavish lives.'

(*b*) 'As a rule (to quote another vicar) mothers of families are harder worked than their husbands or than their daughters "in business," although these work hard.'

(*c*) Again, we hear: 'It depends on the man . . . . . Many of our widows are better off than the women with husbands.'

(*d*) 'A decent man earning 25*s* a week will give 20*s* to his wife. She ought to be able to, because in many cases she does, feed four children, dress them and herself, and pay rent out of this. The 5*s* is kept by the man for his beer and tobacco, and sometimes he pays for his own dinner out of it. After a certain minimum it depends more on the wife than on the amount of money, whether the home is comfortable, and the children decently fed and dressed.' Our informant, a nurse, said she knew households where the wife was allowed 30*s*, which were not better off than those in which the woman only had 20*s*.

(*e*) 'Working men are very hard, and keep as much for themselves as they can. Boys living at home pay for their food, and if out of work cannot pay. Then they often enlist, which they seldom do willingly. "Father looks at every mouthful I eat," said one lad; and the question with their parents is, "How much can we get out of them?"' This our informant attributed to the selfishness of the men; the mothers have to concur, and get hardened to it.

(*f*) An intelligent police inspector thought that the granting of grocers' licences had nothing to do with the increase of drinking among women. Male heads of families allow their wives a fixed sum for household expenses; anything the wives can save out of this they can spend how and where they like. This, he pointed out, is true of both the working class and the middle class above them, so that in their case there is no need to ask the grocer to put down so many bottles of beer as so much coffee, in order to hoodwink the husband, as is sometimes asserted.

(*g*) 'The very poor (remarks a medical witness) never seem to buy new clothing. If they are given good things they pawn them and put on their old, dirty clothes

again. There are enormous sales of clothing which has been pawned and not redeemed.'

(*h*) 'Children (said a schoolmaster, referring to a very poor and low district) are given food in a handkerchief, and live in the street, coming or not coming to school at will. Sometimes they are lost for a week or two, living meanwhile by begging or pilfering. It is useless to speak to the parents.'

(*i*) 'Bad language is reported as a growing evil.' 'Filthy language in the streets is getting worse.' 'Disgusting words are always in the air.' 'The language of the children is shocking, loose life and talk are increasing.' 'The behaviour of boys and girls is as coarse as possible.' Why it should be so bad, and, still more, why it should get worse, I do not know, nor can I affirm that it is so, but it is commonly so said. A Salvation Army captain, putting it at the best, says of the children, 'Their language is very bad—disgusting,' adding, 'I think some of them know the meaning of the words they use.' It is, however, remarkable that, 'degraded as their habits and filthy as the language they hear and use, obscene writing in the school yards occupied by these children is rare, whereas it is a constant trouble at more respectable schools.'

(*j*) *Slang.*—The word 'class' is used for what is superior. 'My father isn't class,' said a six-year-old, 'he's always boozing.' There is a constant change in the words used. For instance, 'pinch' was the last equivalent for 'steal,' having at that time recently supplanted 'nick,' which had succeeded 'sneak.'

(*k*) *Kindness to Animals.*—Moral improvement among the people is immense, owing mainly to education; shown amongst other ways in kindness to animals. The day was (says an old resident) when no cat could appear in the streets of Bethnal Green without being hunted and maltreated; now such conduct is rare.

(*l*) 'The people will put money away if the agencies are brought to their door, but not otherwise (remarks a vicar). They will never take trouble about anything. This leads to much wastefulness in housekeeping and cooking, and to the constant purchase of cooked meat.'

(*m*) As showing the large sums which are often coming in, in apparently poor streets, a district visitor mentioned a family living in a cottage whose combined income for father, mother, son, and daughter was about 75*s* a week; yet their home was always a den.

(*n*) 'Fever and ill-health, to a certain extent, may be attributed (a relieving officer thought) to the amount of personal and domestic uncleanliness. There is not enough soap and water going, and dirty bedding is a special feature.' The quite unnecessary dirt and filth sometimes found are appalling. 'In hot weather there are plagues of flies, like nothing seen ordinarily. In one house, the table (it is described) was fairly black with them, and the woman of the house was helpless; she did not know how to get rid of them. It had never occurred to her to wash the table.' 'Teach cleanliness, and we shall get rid of a lot of poverty.'

(*o*) Reluctance is found, at first, on the part of the poor to accept the services of a nurse, due, perhaps, to her insistence on method and cleanliness.

(*p*) 'Costers congregate in districts convenient for their markets, and prefer rough quarters.' They find their own level, and cannot live in a respectable building. This applies to others besides the hawkers. The case was mentioned of a cabinet-maker who had three rooms in the house next door to a mission-room, and whose family consisted of wife and two children. In a recent winter they moved the bed into the kitchen, and lived and slept there, leaving the other rooms empty. They did not like going to bed in the cold.

(*q*) A noticeable thing in poor streets is the mark left on the exterior of the houses. All along the front, about on a level with the hips, there is a broad dirty mark, showing where the men and lads are in the constant habit of standing, leaning a bit forward, as they smoke their pipes, and watch whatever may be going on in the street, while above and below the mortar is picked or kicked from between the bricks.

(*r*) The roughest lads will not mix with the more respectable, and, after they leave school, escape all

civilizing influence. This difficulty affects all social work. 'The boys of one street (says an East London vicar) won't associate with those of another.'

(*s*) Comparing the present time with 1866, an enormous improvement can be noted. That year was the time of the cholera epidemic, and our informant, in visiting, obtained an insight into the homes at that time, the memory of which, he says, has never left him. 'No doubt there are still slums, but the worst are gone, and the present state of things cannot be compared with the squalor, misery and neglect which prevailed thirty years ago.'

(*t*) 'Since the Jubilee there has been a tendency to spend more on luxuries.' It was an awakening to luxury much to be regretted, thinks the Baptist minister who makes the observation.

(*u*) The usual position of a typical tenant of a house in an old-fashioned "pink" street, paying £36 to £38 per annum rent, is thus sketched by a police inspector: 'The tenant himself, with his family, would occupy two rooms and kitchen on ground floor and retain one upper room, and would let out the first floor, containing front and back room and box room (which though very narrow, is often used as a bed room) for 7*s* a week; while above these would be one room, which may be let to a single old lady unfurnished for 4*s*, or perhaps to two single young men furnished at 5*s* or 6*s*, according as they sleep in two single or one double bed. Thus, first floor at 7*s* would pay £18. 4*s* per annum; second floor at 4*s* would pay £10. 8*s* per annum, leaving £8 to £10, plus an equal [or more probably larger] amount for rates and taxes as the share of the tenant-in-chief, always supposing that the rooms let out are never vacant and the rents regularly paid.

'The first floor occupants make their front room their best room, using it as a bedsitting-room. For cooking they have a range in the back room. Where there are young men lodgers they usually take all their meals out, except Sunday dinner, paying a regular sum for eating this with their landlord. (As a rule the cook-shops are not open on Sunday.) If the top floor is

taken by an old lady, she will cook all her meals over her own little fire; on the rare occasions when such a facility may be needed, she would have the use of the oven downstairs without charge.'

(*v*) The evil of the necessity of 'speculating in lodgers' is spoken of. People take a house at a rent they could not themselves afford with the intention of letting half. Perhaps the lodgers do not come, or coming, do not pay their rent. The occupier gets £5 or £10 behind, loses heart in the struggle with debt, and goes under.

(*w*) 'It is common to abuse landlords as bloodsuckers, &c., but, on the whole, they treat their tenants with wonderful patience and forbearance,' says one of the clergy. He is convinced that in his district they do not receive more than two-thirds of their rent, and that the return on their investment is not large.

(*x*) Contents of a packet of papers (belonging to a late inmate) found in a Salvation Army shelter:—

(1) Bailiff's business card, which announced, 'Undesirable tenants speedily ejected.'

(2) A 'hearty welcome' card to a free meal at a mission hall.

(3) A Salvation Army 'Soldier's Song-book.'

(4) The Gospel of St. Luke.

(5) Four halves of four cancelled bank cheques.

(6) Three copies of 'The Golden Grain Almanack and Christian Text-Book for 1898.'

(7) A book of miniature pictures of the 'Daily Graphic.'

(8) A letter commencing 'My dear son,' and ending 'Your affectionate mother.'

§ 7

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF LIFE

Work and leisure, earning and saving, spending and sparing—such are the necessary elements of economic life, and on the maintenance of a due balance between them does its success depend.

Every civilization demands the provision of a certain amount of capital, or, as the word perhaps implies, a quota of possessions per head. The existing type of what has been termed 'Western' civilization requires a great deal of these things, and its advance is based on their increase. The ideal expressed in the words, 'rich not in the greatness of my wealth but in the fewness of my wants,' is far removed from us. To us Diogenes would have appealed in vain. We may regret it, but it is so. The poor may scoff at luxury, but they are more self-indulgent than the rich ; and the rich may sigh for simplicity, but even when they really wish for it, find it unattainable, and, if it were attainable, would probably not like it.

It is said that if none were wealthy there would be no poor ; but it does not at all follow that the poor would gain by the impoverishment of others, or by any form of re-distribution. In some hands, or in some form, increase and accumulation of property are necessary to our civilization. Those who accumulate it serve the rest ; and no radical change in the resultant economic balance could be maintained without a complete alteration in the motives that actuate mankind.

In this indirect manner every child is born to a share in the common inheritance. On this provision its actual home and its future chances depend. The measure of this potential share in the capital stock of the nation cannot, perhaps, be exactly calculated, or apportioned ; but at the lowest estimate it is a sub-

stantial amount. It must, moreover, be by some means provided, if the work of the country is to be carried on, and labour enabled to secure its due reward. In this necessity is found the fundamental connection which exists between saving and earning.

That the function of replenishing and increasing the common stock should be widely spread, and shared by many, is doubtless desirable, but it is so mainly because to the individual holder his own savings have a special value. To those, and they are the majority, who, being practically without capital themselves, lean on the common stock, it matters not who provides it. It is the part of some not only to earn but also to spare, while the function of others is to earn and spend. All ought to earn; for earnings are the basis of the whole; but to spend is as essential as to spare, and that the two functions should be to a great extent distinct is in itself no evil.

This view which I put forward as theory, is instinctive in the people, and is reflected in their habits. The working classes regard as their capital the labour they have to offer. Out of what they receive for its use, they may pay the cost of an insurance against sickness and debility, but they spend the rest. The very prudent set aside a little cash against emergency, but the more usual plan is to trust, if thrown back, to obtain temporary credit. On either plan, what is aimed at is an average subsistence. To this, standard rates of wages and habits of life adjust themselves. The labour given might be more valuable, the wages earned might be higher, the insurance more complete, the savings against emergency more substantial, but the principle adopted is right. It is better for themselves, and for others too, that these classes should spend freely. The question at stake for themselves, and for others also, is how they spend their money. On a wise expenditure both their welfare and

their higher social value depend. This is the economic problem of their lives, and amongst the penalties of a false solution lurks ruin.

With those on whom misfortune or incapacity or moral weakness has already impressed the seal of poverty, a further and special difficulty arises, when the savings necessary to establish an average spending income may bring the level of that income below that of subsistence. Those who are so situated become inevitably an economic burthen upon the self supporting. The less they have of prudence, energy and other virtues and the fewer their advantages, the more they need them; out of this strait they must by some means be dragged.

The settled rich are the holders and trustees of wealth, but, as with the working classes, their true function is to spend wisely rather than to save. The more solid their position, the more exacting do the claims on their purses become. And thus they, too, must learn to spare as well as spend; but, except to a quite limited extent with regard to the establishment of children, it is not for the sake of accumulation, but to maintain an average. The welfare of others, even more than their own, depends on this economic exercise, and the ruin of others, as well as of themselves, may be the penalty of failure. With the working classes the object is to render irregularity of income equal to the calls of a regular expenditure; with the rich this is reversed, and the aim is rather to make a comparatively fixed income meet the claims of a varying expenditure. In place of saving, many, or perhaps most, will trench for a time on their capital by selling out stock, or by borrowing what they immediately need. Again, while the theory may not be recognised, this course of action is instinctively pursued. And the principle is right. In detail much improvement is again possible. Lives might be made more useful; duties better

performed; money better spent; but on the whole the course pursued by this class is as well adapted as that of the working classes to the place it fills, and its functions are no less essential to the social structure.

It is on the class between that the real task of accumulation devolves. Excluding a section of professional men whose savings (like those of the working classes) are mainly a matter of insurance, the main object of the lives of the members of this class is money making, and in doing so, even when they are narrowly self-seeking and indifferent to the welfare of others, they must, to a great extent, serve the public. They include both rich and poor. Many of them are hard pinched by poverty; others may be multi-millionaires, but all alike are chained to the oar. The motives of this slavery are manifold and mostly good; but are greatly misunderstood, and strangely misrepresented as 'the worship of Mammon.'

The origin of this devotion to money making is found in individual desire for advancement, and this motive runs through the whole; but it widens as it goes and assumes many secondary forms: as for the sake of wife or of children, or personal ambition, which is seldom sordid; 'goals for the eager,' of many kinds, which may never be reached. The life is strenuous, and soon the curtain falls.

The faculty needed is far-sightedness, and the qualities required to attain success are patience and persistence in working for a distant object, coupled with a readiness to make the present sacrifices that this entails. A new value is discovered in savings, and a new form of expenditure instituted. Others save in order to consume, but those whose economic position we are now considering, make use of savings in order to produce. Whatever delinquencies may result from their over eagerness in the pursuit of money, the service rendered to the community is great. The whole present

social structure depends on it; without this service we should starve. It is no poetic exaggeration to say, 'it would have been better if we had not been born,' for without the efforts of this class the country would not support one-tenth of its present population.

Fortunately the passion for acquisition and advancement is strong. It does not even depend upon the motives that first call it forth, but comes to have a life of its own. A man will often sacrifice everything; his own life, his family and his home; to satisfy its claims. No mistress is more exacting. But on the other side it tends also to be hard upon others; grinding those whose service it employs, unless restrained by some means; and relentless in competition; save for an occasional truce between exhausted opponents. It needs the curb, but is a strong beast and it pulls our waggon.

Though the functions are distinct, no such exact division can be made amongst individuals. Not a few try to combine them; but the more distinct they are kept the better. An artist, for instance, may imagine that business management is 'as easy as lying,' but will probably lose his money if he abandon his true position, perhaps the noblest of all, as highest in degree among the working classes. Or a man living upon a settled income from property, may think to increase it by speculation, which will benefit no one: himself, probably, least of all. The soul which gives life to trade is not in either bosom. And if, on his side, the trader, abandoning the sound foundations of business, grasps at immediate advantage, urged on by greediness to make and eagerness to spend, he, too, sacrifices his own true dignity without attaining that of either of the other two classes.

PART III

NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION

§ 1

PUBLIC-HOUSES AND LICENSING

The signs of prosperity in the drink trade have been patent during recent years, and were especially so between the dates of 1897 and 1900.* 'Insignificant houses,' as it has been said, have been 'turned into palaces,' and 'little into large,' all over London. Astonishing prices are mentioned as having been paid at about this period; £20,000, £30,000 and £40,000 quite commonly, while £50,000, £60,000, £70,000 and even in one or two instances as much as £90,000, have been given. Comparisons are drawn between present and past values showing extraordinary advances, almost beyond expression by percentage, as 'twenty years ago £3000, last year £27,000.' 'There has been an epidemic of buying and selling and refurbishing old houses.'

A successful publican, who had formerly six houses under his management, and found it more profitable to sell than to carry on the trade in them, named several reasons for the rise in prices: '(1) The greater security felt by investors that there would be no temperance legislation for some time; (2) The amount of money seeking investment, and the much lower

* The period during which we received the information embodied in the following pages.

rate of interest that would be taken than formerly; and (3) The increase of population and the fact that the number of licensed houses was decreasing slightly in total, and largely when considered in ratio to the population.' This witness adds that a great deal of capital has been found by the managers in the tied houses as well as by the brewers, and even holds it probable that 'in spite of the fact of breweries being turned into companies and trebling their capital, the proportion of the publican's interest to that of the brewer is greater now than ten years ago.'*

Beneath all this investment of money there existed no doubt the prospect of a veritable golden egg of profit, but the bird that was to lay it has been priced too high and extravagantly decorated. The advance in the values of licences, largely speculative in character, was closely consequent on a struggle for predominance among the great brewers as capitalists: a struggle caused by the readiness with which funds were obtainable from outside investors, and leading to a further very free use of borrowed money in securing the outlets which the public-houses provide for the beer brewed by the companies. The wholesale as well as retail profit was thus brought in to justify the increased capitalization, and this capital value materializes upon the monopoly of licences, towards the strengthening of which public policy and the very rivalry of contending opinions have conduced. This, coupled with the social changes in the habits of the people, to which I have already called attention, is the economic explanation of what happened, rather than any abnormal increase in the consumption of alcohol.

The advance in values became greater than could be maintained. At the moment a downward movement

* This was said in 1897; and though the amount of money seeking investment is much less than at that date, and the security as to the position of the holders of licenses not so good, much of it still applies.

has set in; while some even say that a 'slump' has begun. Even so, however, if the monopoly is maintained, the reaction can only be comparatively slight, and will leave untouched the main facts of prosperity, profit, and undue capitalistic expansion, which have resulted in a vested interest increasingly difficult to deal with, and established, it would seem, directly athwart the path of social progress.

Alterations in fashion, and the competition of houses that by their greater smartness endeavour to justify the capital invested in them, have taken value away from some licensed premises, and these changes have fallen in with the policy of making the surrender of some licence that is no longer needed a requisite for the permission to enlarge other premises, or for the issue of a new licence somewhere else. This policy, as a rule, accomplishes little, either in the direction of temperance or of reform. Its plausibility has, however, been sufficient to satisfy those who have been unable to agree on anything better.

To questions of policy I shall return, but would first add a few notes, gathered from the evidence of police and others, on the management and character of different kinds of licensed premises.

The expansion and development of the trade, though probably not greater than that of those refreshment-houses in which no alcohol is sold, and not perhaps beyond the average of social development in many other directions, is yet widespread and marked. In those districts in which the number of licensed houses has decreased, the bar accommodation nevertheless has increased, and in estimating the effective force of public-houses each separate compartment should be counted. It is the aim of the publican to give to each compartment some convenience or attraction of its own, be it publicity or privacy, a snug corner or a "jolly crush in." It is his object to separate the classes for whose wants he caters,

and he can do it by the style in which the drink is served as well as by its quality and by the price charged in different bars. These arrangements, adjusted locally to the character of the particular district, seem entirely to suit the peculiarities of the English social class system. The people sort themselves and suit themselves, and, whether from above or from below, regard with friendly indulgence, devoid alike of envy or contempt, the habits and weaknesses of others.

When 'roughness' is complained of by some outside critic, it is perhaps 'to be traced rather to the connections and surroundings of the house than to the character of its management;' but this statement needs some qualification, as, though the management undoubtedly takes its colour from the customers served, order will still in the immediate resort depend on the word or the fist of the man in command. As a rule publicans, while individually somewhat superior, are of the same class as the bulk of their customers. This applies to small rather than to large establishments, and still more to beer-houses, which are apt to be in the hands of local men. The larger houses require men of some capital, who are more likely to come from a distance. The larger the establishment, too, the more it must depend on the passing trade; although every public-house, large or small, has its nucleus of regular customers, its own little *clientèle*. With beer-houses this is carried much further, sometimes to the point of exclusion of all others; the business of these houses being often almost confined to one particular set of men, so that 'even a neighbour would be looked at askance, and would hardly dare to go in.' I myself remember an experience of the kind. It was in South Hackney, or Haggerston, near the Canal. I entered a very quiet-looking place, and found myself in what was in effect a small room with benches round and a bar counter at the end. It was evidently the

fashion to drink seated, and I took a seat, but felt as though I had entered uninvited a private room, as indeed was practically the case. Fortunately I asked for what could not be supplied, having at the moment forgotten the probable limit of the licence, and, with an apology for giving trouble, could take my leave. Those present seemed to be very orderly and respectable men. 'In these places (said one of our witnesses) the men (who are usually labourers) pass the evening over a pot of ale, sitting and smoking. They use them as their clubs, and do not (usually) get drunk.' And this informant thought there was much to be said in their favour as compared to public-houses, 'where the object was to serve you and send you away as soon as you ceased to drink.'*

But the character of beer-houses varies very much, and many are in the black books of the police. A parish nurse employed in Bethnal Green, where things are nearly at their roughest in London, says of the beer-houses that they are worse than the fully licensed houses, and that the difference can almost be told by the noisier sounds of disorder coming from the bar. But she admits that there are exceptions; and describes one house kept by a widow woman, in succession to her husband, where the customers are a quiet set of railway men, who 'make the place their own;' while just opposite, in the same street, is 'the roughest beer-house in the parish,' used by general labourers and a few women. These women (adds the nurse) are of the very roughest, the ordinary Bethnal Green women using the regular public-houses. Slum beer-houses, as a class,

* In support of this view I may quote the remarks made by an intelligent omnibus driver, who complained of the want of comfort in the modern public-house. 'They are not,' he said, 'what they used to be; there are no places now [for men of his class] where you can spend your evening with a pipe and a pot of beer; the publican seems to want to get rid of you to make room for someone else. The saloon bar is comfortable enough, but there you are expected to drink spirits, and to go on drinking. It costs too much, and it is not what you want.'

are the least reputable of licensed houses, and beer-houses generally, being used by the poorest as well as the roughest, are the mark of a poor neighbourhood. In such localities they are often a relic of the times when licences were too freely granted, or perhaps of some more remote period when the poverty area of to-day was a village centre to which people repaired from round about for their evening's amusement; but, however started, it is the common opinion that they are now too numerous. Without a steady body of supporters, which all can hardly expect to secure, as well as very careful economical management, it is in many cases not easy to see how these houses can be made to pay. Many of the keepers have some other occupation, and their wives take charge of the premises. Some, doubtless, are 'driven to malpractices,' or at least, as another witness says, are 'hard put to it for an honest living.' Yet brewers will pay hundreds and even thousands to secure these outposts of their trade.

It may be wise to reduce the number of small beer-shops, to get rid of the less frequented among fully licensed houses and to be very jealous of granting any fresh licences; while at the same time it may be almost inevitable, if the public are to be served, that existing houses should be enlarged everywhere. Yet it is very doubtful if in either the one direction or the other, the changes that occur are regulated or taken advantage of in the best interest of the public; either of that part of it which desires or of that which abhors drink. Public opinion is undetermined, vacillating and contradictory; and the licensing authorities lack both conviction and courage. An extremely valuable monopoly has been and is being persistently given away by the State, as an absolutely free gift, although carrying with it in most cases a continuous, and in many cases a positively enormous increase in value which, both present and prospective, becomes a vested interest so injurious that

at last we may be driven at whatever cost to get rid of it. Such a policy certainly seems to be the height of folly. But the road which will avoid it is not easy to find ; nor, if found, to take.

It is the restriction of the number of licences that has given them their special value ; and it is because unrestricted trade in alcohol is impolitic that we seem unable to handle these licences to the public advantage. Perhaps if more forethought had been shown, and if there had been less unreasonableness of attack on the traffic in drink, the difficulty we now have in dealing with the subject might not have occurred ; at the very least it would have been more manageable than it at present is. Even now, if all of those who equally condemn excess in alcohol and desire to check the habit, were agreed on the policy to be pursued, and had the courage to deal with it, the difficulty would vanish. Unfortunately, the agreement is lacking, and the courage goes out in the attacks that either side directs against the other. It is to be feared that the divergence is irreconcilable. Some, and I count myself among the number, would make it their first object to improve the character of the places where alcohol is sold. They recognise wide differences for good or evil in the various forms, as well as circumstances, in which alcohol may be taken. If in these respects improvements can be secured they ask no more. An increase in the number of places in which under improved conditions drink is supplied, or in the number of drinkers, or even in the total quantity of alcohol consumed, they would disregard, or even welcome, if accompanied by self control and good sense. But to others the whole trade is an abomination, and if to stamp it out is an impossibility, then it must, they hold, be restricted to the utmost. The result of this clash of well-meaning opinions has been fatal alike to legislative interference and administrative control.

But before pursuing this large question further, it will be useful to consider the special points of difficulty in the management of the trade, as reported by the police, by the publicans themselves, and by independent onlookers, and note how these questions reflect on the larger question of licensing in which, if at all, we have to look for common ground of action.*

First there is the question of allowing drunken men to have more liquor. The publican is not bound to supply every one who asks and pays for it with drink; it is at his option to refuse, and the law says he shall refuse, if in his judgment the man has already had too much; and for failing in this, the publican is liable to prosecution. This law is, however, reported in more than one quarter, to be 'practically a dead letter.' One policeman said it was considered to be the duty of constables to warn publicans not to serve men who were on the 'verge of drunkenness,' on the theory that they had not only to detect but to prevent; but this evidently may be considered a counsel of perfection. Its mere mention may help us, however, to realize the extreme difficulty of administering the law. It is not easy to define drunkenness. In the Navy, I have understood that a man is not considered to be sober unless he can walk straight along a deck-plank, but perhaps some slight deviation is admitted; in a public-house the barman can apply no such test, and if a man gets into a corner and drinks quietly, it must often be impossible to detect drunkenness. Nor need he ask for drink himself; some easy-going friend will obtain it and hand him the pot. Finally he reels out into the street. The different ways in which liquor affects different individuals constitute another difficulty.

* What follows was written before the Licensing Act, 1902, came into force. It remains to be seen how the new Act works.

'With many men who have been drinking, no effects are apparent until they are out of the house and some distance away, when they suddenly become unmistakably drunk.' There are, however, other cases in which the process of becoming intoxicated can be watched in its every stage; as public-house after public-house is visited, or glass after glass is taken by those who indulge in the habit; talkative, maudlin, quarrelsome, unsteady on their legs, or showing those more subtle signs of inebriation which every barman knows only too well; and then the sole difficulty is to decide at what point to draw the line. It is easiest if the man comes in half drunk from elsewhere, when a quiet 'I can't serve you,' is rarely resented. But when a party of men, each standing drink in turn, have all had too much in one sense, and one of them begins to have had too much in the other sense, it is difficult for the man who serves the drink to know when to refuse it, or to whom. To refuse it to all, would be the right thing, and a woman might perhaps do it with impunity; but a barman practically could not. Of the police it is said that they 'turn a blind eye,' and that 'they might do more if they were stricter.' They are even accused, though unfairly I think, of 'hampering all efforts to deal with the drink traffic.'

The police all agree in saying that there is no wish on the part of the publicans to serve men who are drunk, but it cannot be denied that the law is frequently broken. 'Undoubtedly' (said one of the inspectors) 'there might be more complaints and convictions for serving drunken men than there are. A man is almost always allowed to go home without interference, even though clearly drunk, if he can manage it either by himself or with the help of a friend. But he must not make too much noise, or be disorderly, or collect a crowd on his way there; in that case you may run your man in, and get him con-

victed. But it is very hard to prove that he has been served while actually drunk, and indeed it is a difficult thing to be sure of; those in the bar at the same time are always very unwilling to give evidence.'

A Superintendent of Police confirms this, saying that 'in practice it results in men being only taken up when disorderly, as well as drunk; and disorderliness is the complaint on which they are convicted, rather than drunkenness. Hence the police are deprived of the possibility of following up the case against the publican.' He, too, speaks of the extreme difficulty of obtaining conviction, due partly to the absence of any fixed rule: 'Some magistrates hold that the publican must be specially told not to serve the man, and warned as he enters the house; while with others it is enough that the publican has been warned (as a matter of routine) at the time his licence is renewed.' As to the fact of drunkenness, too, it is complained that the magistrates will not accept the word of a constable, but must have other witnesses, and these are 'hard to find.' It would be easier, continues this witness, to obtain convictions against both houses and individuals, if the magistrates took a 'more common sense view' of drunkenness. The matter is summed up in a few words by another, still from the police point of view, who mentions, to explain how so many drunken people are served without any prosecution of publicans, 'the insuperable difficulty of defining drunkenness and the impossibility of obtaining convictions on the unsupported evidence of one constable against four or five witnesses;' while in answer to the same question as to why the law fails, one of the clergy replied, 'through perjury. It is hopeless to obtain a conviction against the hard swearing.'

The friendly perjury which refuses to admit that 'the man was what you could call drunk,' is a bad way

out of the difficulty, which is a very real one, and only to be met, in my opinion, by a gradual stringing up of the whole standard of respectability in this trade; so that licensed houses shall no longer be regarded as places of licence. One of the clergy puts the case very simply. His parish is on the outskirts of London, and contains only one public-house, which, though 'as well conducted as most,' is, he says, constantly complained of by respectable neighbours as a nuisance. 'It is a source of noise and disturbance, which ought to be stopped; but the law practically is not enforced. The grocer and the butcher are not allowed to be a nuisance; why should the publican?'

This ill-regulated state of things, the existence of which is not to be denied, cannot be cured by punitive enactment culminating in competitive hard swearing before a magistrate who hesitates under these circumstances to endorse a licence; but if the power of licensing were so used as to exercise a quiet steady pressure against rowdy conduct and heavy drinking, a higher level might gradually be reached. In this direction the law as it stands would serve, and if supported by public opinion could certainly be enforced. In some ways, moreover, it might be usefully strengthened.

As to the effect of merely reducing the number of public-houses various views are held; the most general being that though the confirmed toper would not fail to obtain drink, there would be less temptation to others. In districts where licensed premises lie very thick, the force of this argument may be questioned; especially if a reduction in number be accompanied by an equivalent increase in bar space, and by a flashier style of equipment. Another view expressed is that it would be in the interests of sobriety if there were a greater number of houses than there are, because with more of them there would be less crowding at the bars, and thus less difficulty in refusing to serve those who had already

had too much. These two views are not necessarily contradictory, if in either case there is an increase of bar accommodation. A third authority does not think that the number of public-houses affects in any way the amount of drunkenness.

It would not be reasonable to consider that all the evils of drinking can be expressed in terms of drunkenness, yet it would be a long step forward if this extreme form of the habit of indulgence in alcohol should pass away, or become by custom as well as law inadmissible in public places, and this is likely to depend rather on the character of the accommodation offered by the licensed houses than on their number.* From this point of view the main advantage that has been secured by the recent reductions, and by the check that has been placed upon the creation of new licensed premises has lain in increase of size, for with this has come the introduction of a higher class of person as manager, and a greater sense of responsibility on the part both of manager and owner. But having the whole trade thus in the melting pot—almost every publican needing not only the renewal but the revision of his licence in consequence of these enlargements—the opportunity to remodel the whole system was surely a great one, and it has been allowed to slip away.

The excited demands for legislative interference may perhaps not unreasonably be connected with the marked failure of the temperance propaganda. 'There is not the enthusiastic temperance spirit that existed a few years ago, when the great revival took place.' 'No enthusiasm in temperance matters; a great falling off in recent years.' 'Adult temperance societies are a failure, the old enthusiasm has gone.' 'The workers seem to have completely lost heart.' 'The work at a

* The special effort to deal with habitual drunkards under the new Act may perhaps be directly efficacious.

very low ebb, so much so that many of the clergy have given it up.' These are samples of the evidence of the clergy, ministers, missionaries, and others engaged in the work. 'Temperance people want their hands upheld,' says one minister of religion, while another, varying the allusion, speaks of the work as being 'terribly against the collar.'

The failure was attributed by one witness 'chiefly to the bigotry of the extremists.' A missionary says that he can find 'no temperance feeling except amongst his workers,' and in another instance the adult temperance meeting is spoken of as 'just a mutual admiration society;' or again, where there is success as regards numbers, it is branded as a fraud, 'very pleasant among themselves, but no good to the cause.' And finally, if the outsider is brought in, 'the meetings are apt to deteriorate, so that it is difficult to keep them above the music hall level.'

That 'the combination of the temperance movement with religion has led to failure' is one opinion, while another, which perhaps conflicts with this less than might at first sight be supposed, holds that 'the only way to combat the evil, is by the Christianizing of the people.' 'Two-thirds of those whose lives are changed by religion, become abstainers; and even if they did not give up drink on principle, they would do so to avoid the old companions they would be apt to meet at the public-houses.' But at present, this witness admits, 'we do not seem to grapple with the question as we did a few years ago. The "blue ribbon" was a tremendous success for a time. Large meetings could be brought together.' The temperance society at the mission with which this man is connected had 'died a natural death.'

The value of such success as is achieved is also questioned, as in the statements: 'Hundreds may sign the pledge every year, but they do not keep it long.'

'Pledge, drink; pledge, drink; and so on. It is merely the temporary desire to turn over a new leaf; the drink is in the blood.' 'Its smear is over everything.' 'Drunkards constantly being reclaimed, and as constantly falling away again.' Temperance, it is said, 'is worn threadbare.' But the religious bodies working among the mass of the people very frequently say that 'all work is hopeless until some control is obtained of the drink traffic.' 'The churches,' they say, 'can do nothing till the drinking is reduced; it is the greatest hindrance to their work;' and then follows the oft-expressed hope of better things through the children, 'who are being taught temperance principles much more systematically than ever before. In ten years the effect will be shown.'

Thus, having failed as regards adults, the religious bodies throw themselves with ardent hopes into temperance work among the children, and in that field score an easy success, since 'drunkenness is the last sin to which children have any tendency.' Some are confident that the principles thus instilled into the young will last, and even claim that a large proportion remain abstainers; but this, to say the least, is very doubtful. 'I should be sorry' (said one of the clergy) 'to assert that Bands of Hope are useless, but their effect is very slight, especially if they are too big. It is quite futile for people to come and lecture to children on the change in the tissue of the brain caused by the use of alcohol.'

In spite of the failure of active temperance propaganda, and the disappointment of the high hopes that were entertained in the 'blue ribbon' days, it is recognised on all hands that there is among the population a much larger element of teetotalers from conviction than there used to be; and we have it from one of the police that these people are 'not only law abiding themselves, but are active in rescuing their

less sober friends from drunken rows and conveying them home.' This, indeed, is not an uncommon sight.

Of temperance advocates there are a few who perceive that 'the well-wishers of temperance reform are numerous, and would be powerful if combined;' and who admit that they 'cannot succeed without the aid of the moderate drinkers;' but the more common attitude among teetotalers is to regard drink as an accursed thing with which no terms can be made, and even the argument of the 'half loaf' is rejected. Thus, it is not enough that we have the sensitive interests of 'the trade' to contend with, the rights of property, and all the instincts of conservatism, but, in addition, those who are prepared to move are quite unable to agree on what lines action should be taken in dealing with an evil the magnitude of which none either deny, or even attempt to minimize.

The system on which licences are granted is the battlefield of these contending forces.

In their effect on the habits of people inclined to indulgence in alcoholic stimulant, the character of the management, the size of the buildings, the structural and other arrangements for serving their customers, and the hours during which liquor may be supplied, seem to me far to outweigh questions of mere number and frequency of licensed premises; and to these considerations I would add, as scarcely less important, the wholesomeness (apart from excess in its consumption) of the liquor supplied. Excepting the last question, as to which responsibility is shared with some other branches of administration, and that of the hours, which are fixed by direct legislation, all these points come for decision to the licensing authority. How this authority should be constituted and what principles should guide its action, are the points I would consider.

The ideal which I suggest that we should set before

ourselves, and which it should be the object of this authority to realize, would be so to improve the conditions under which alcoholic drinks are supplied to all classes of the community, that the standard of propriety in these public places should not only be set as high as possible, but should everywhere at least equal, and in poorer neighbourhoods rise above, that ordinarily obtaining in the homes. Respectability must rule. Whether women go to them or not, may be a question of class or of custom, but there must be nothing in the character of the house, or the behaviour of those who frequent it, to prevent their doing so. Whether parents do or do not take their children to these places, and whatever the conditions under which the children are allowed to be sent for or served with drink, there must be nothing to prevent it in the conduct of those whose wants the houses are licensed to supply. This is not too much to demand. This is no extravagant ideal. It is not only expected, but is practically attained in all other places of public resort: in the streets and parks, in theatres and music-halls, in markets and shops, in tea-rooms and refreshment houses of every class—A. B. C. or B. T. T., Lockhart or Pearce and Plenty, and in many others. Everywhere we find order and propriety of behaviour. Misconduct is admittedly out of place. Nor is exhilaration connected with the consumption of alcohol incompatible with order in public places any more than in the home. What would be thought of a railway company which permitted any of its refreshment rooms to be the scene of conduct which is accepted as a matter of course in half the public-houses in London on a Saturday night? It is, surely, entirely unnecessary that such scenes should occur at all; their cause lies not so much in the character of our people as in the conditions under which alcohol is purveyed.

The evils of drink are three: alcoholic poisoning, in various degrees, resulting in moral and physical deterioration; undesirable or excessive expenditure, impoverishing both the nation and the individual; and disorderly conduct. It is only the last of these that comes directly under the control of the licensing authorities, and to this they should mainly devote their attention, leaving to others the duty of preaching economy and temperance; but, nevertheless, the law they administer and the methods of administration they adopt may do much to further these higher aims.

The errors of past administration have been due, no doubt, largely to contentions among rival factions and to vacillation in public opinion, but more directly to the resulting weakness and lack of principle shown in carrying out the law. Whatever the policy, we need a stronger and more vital authority to enforce it. Such an authority must be locally in touch with the public opinion of all classes, which it should seek to lead as well as express; it must be fully conscious of the importance of its task, and persistent in the action it takes. For London I would suggest that such an authority could be constituted by a small committee of the London County Council, with a permanent paid secretary, sitting with assessors, who might be trained lawyers appointed by the Home Office. The general policy as to licensing to be pursued, always in conformity with the law, would then be laid down by the London County Council; and it may be hoped that both the discussions and the final decision would in this case rise above party considerations, so that continuity might so far as possible be secured. It would be the duty of the committee to study the whole field, and form its programme, in accordance with the policy laid down, for the gradual amelioration of the traffic in drink.

As regards licensing decisions, there might be a right

of appeal to a permanent committee appointed jointly by the Local Government Board and the Home Office, whose duty it would be to protect minorities and individuals and to check vagaries, and whose decision would be final, but who, when it was needed, would refer questions of legal interpretation to the High Court. The same system, with local modifications, would be applicable throughout the country, and the actions and requirements of these bodies being everywhere in contact with the same difficulties, would lead to whatever central legislation was required. The lines of action adopted in one district or another would no doubt vary considerably; our system of local government is essentially experimental; but it would probably be found that the demands on the central government would tend to converge.

The first of these will be for powers of local taxation by means of extra rating of the values created by the granting of licences. This demand will be made not only, or even mainly, for the sake of the additional money that might be very reasonably obtained for local purposes from this source; but because it is only by gradually getting rid of the vested interest which has been created, that any effective popular control of the trade is possible; and this will be found to be even more necessary if a policy of restriction is pursued, than when expansion under special conditions is admitted as a means of undermining monopoly values.

The next demand will probably be for placing all clubs, or bars of clubs in which alcohol is sold, under the same restrictions as to hours as the public-houses; and, again, this will be even more necessary with a policy of unmitigated restriction. The improved public-house might compete successfully with the clubs, and need feel no jealousy of those that are respectable; but other clubs might become the last refuge of the drunkard; so that whatever the policy pursued, a free

hand with public-houses would require more complete control of clubs.*

The whole question of hours will also certainly be raised, and the possibility of varying them, if by that means special needs can be reconciled with an average all round reduction. Again vested values will be found to stand in the way.

Then, at any rate from those who seek to improve rather than suppress, there will be a demand that the revenue obtained from alcohol shall not be so exacted as to penalize the supply of such drinks as contain only a small amount of it; and finally, enterprising municipalities will seek powers to enter the business themselves.

It is mainly on the question of hours that my notes regarding London contain anything further of interest. There the hours of opening are longer than elsewhere in England, extending to 12.30 a.m., except on Saturday, when the public-houses close at midnight. On Sunday the hours approximate to those in most country places, being 1 to 3 p.m. for dinner and 6 to 11 p.m. for supper. There are also some special licences to meet the needs of night workers.

In the provinces the public-houses close every week-day at 11; and one asks (assuming for the moment that the shorter hours are desirable), is there any need for an exception in the case of London? As likely to tend to diminish excess in drinking and drunkenness, all agree that shorter hours would be desirable: '11 o'clock on Saturday and 11.30 on other days would be much better for everyone,' says an East End clergyman; and

* The objection on the score of infringement of liberty, which would be raised against interference with clubs, is somewhat hollow. A bar which opens and shuts at certain hours fixed by law, whatever the class of club, is no real grievance. This is shown very clearly by the fact that this rule is adopted on board every passenger ship, as a mere matter of convenience. 'Last call for drinks, gentlemen,' is usually heard at eleven o'clock, and only in the case of some special festivity, 'by the captain's permission,' another half-hour may be allowed.

another, speaking for Bethnal Green, is 'sure that drinking as an evil begins about 10 p.m.; it is after that hour that people get drunk.' A nurse who works in Poplar, speaking of a district in which there is a great deal of drunkenness, says the people 'cannot quiet down till 12 or 1 o'clock. Till then there is noise and riot.' It is to be supposed that the last hour will always be the worst, whenever it comes, and probably with 10 o'clock closing it would be found that all the mischief occurred between 9 and 10. But unless the whole day and its work were to be altered by a couple of hours, I still think that there would be a substantial gain for the cause of temperance in adopting an earlier hour, and should advocate 11 o'clock every week night (and in clubs the same) with further special consideration to houses which were willing to close at 10.

A small monetary advantage is offered now to houses which either close all day on Sunday or an hour earlier than is obligatory on other days, and some avail themselves of this, while others close early voluntarily when it suits them to do so. 'In the back streets very often and in the more important thoroughfares occasionally,' is said with regard to Bermondsey; and one of the clergy in Shadwell, who speaks of the publicans as a good set, says that the largest and best of the public-houses always closes at 11; while in a low North London district we hear of two beer-houses which always close at 12 o'clock, probably to avoid rowdiness, for their customers seem to spend the remaining half hour at the neighbouring public-houses, which remain open; but it may be an economy to shut. 'In a poor district' (said our informant) 'a small beer-house knows exactly what custom to expect, and can gauge by the weather or by such counter-attractions as may be going on, whether enough profit will be made to pay for the gas.'

The result of closing all the houses at the earlier hour has recently been seen at Penge (which has ceased to be metropolitan), and has apparently been very marked. A Baptist minister mentions the improvement: 'Friends have remarked that they do not know what has come to the place, it is so quiet and orderly at night.' The change was the greater because previously 'people used to come from Croydon (where eleven was the closing hour) to get drink in Penge (where it was 12.30), and, going back by the night train, could be heard noisily making their way home.' It is so all round London wherever there is a population living beyond the boundary, but within reach. 'In Bow you have men coming over from Stratford during the last hour;' and in Bromley, too, it is reported that 'they come over the Lea to finish up.' The same thing is true elsewhere, and must increasingly be so as the population beyond the boundary grows. Either the area of the 12.30 rule will have to be extended, or London brought under the eleven o'clock rule, some special plan being in this case adopted for dealing with those parts of London where the eleven o'clock rule might be impracticable.

The teetotal section ask for entire Sunday closing, but admit that this rule, to be of any use, must apply to clubs also. A Methodist local preacher in Woolwich told us that he had visited twenty public-houses on the previous Sunday between 7 and 8 p.m., and found very few people in them, 'a most encouraging sign;' and he thought that a number of publicans there would shut if asked to do so, 'since one to two o'clock, for the dinner beer, would cover all the trade they do.' But if this is true of Woolwich it would be far from true elsewhere. It is possible that much Sunday trade might be done more desirably on the 'off' than the 'on' principle, if the licences were adjusted in that way.

Public-houses are allowed to open at 5 a.m., but only a few do so, the hour selected depending on the situation. The object of the early hour is to accommodate working men with a morning dram, which usually consists of rum with hot milk or coffee. A publican, whose own place only opens at 7.30, thought that more harm was done by early opening than late closing; and the opinion of one of the clergy is that 'some houses sell more spirits between 5 and 8 a.m. than at any other time in the day, being largely used by women as well as men in these hours;' and he objects strongly to the early hour of opening, not without reason. Coffee and milk (without the rum) would start the day better for those who have work to do than the mixture usually taken, and the coffee, if properly made and sold at a low price, might beat the other in fair competition.

It is not always easy to enforce the laws as to hours. The excessive number of beer-houses in Bethnal Green has been mentioned already, and the police say that the temptation there to carry on an illegal Sunday trade is great. If attempted it is always difficult to detect, 'crows' being posted to give the alarm. It is also said that there is a good deal of treating by publicans in back rooms after hours. 'Tradesmen come in late, closing time surprises them; the publican does not like to turn these friends out; thereupon they fill up their glasses and adjourn to the back room.' Evidently these are small matters compared, for instance, to the use that may be made of the clubs. The main security against such 'quiet' breaches of the law as these must be found in the character of the management.

The ordinary kinds of licences are: (1) 'Full,' *i.e.*, for beer, wine and spirits, both on and off; (2) Beer only, on or off; (3) Beer 'off', *i.e.*, to be

consumed away from the premises; and (4) 'Grocers',' for the sale of bottled drinks (ale, wine and spirits). There are also refreshment houses (5), some of which are fully licensed, while others can only supply beer, or beer and wine, and have no bar, the drink being served usually with the meals. There are also a few exceptional modifications or combinations of these kinds.

A map which accompanies this volume shows the licensed places in the inner portions of London. This map was prepared for the social science section of the Paris Exhibition of 1900, and includes an area of twenty-four square miles of the most densely populated and poorest portions of London, extending from Regent Street in the West to Poplar in the East, a distance of six miles, and from Camden Town and Victoria Park in the North to Vauxhall and Deptford in the South, or about four miles. On it the five different forms of licensed premises are marked according to their character, excepting that in the case of the City, where the conditions are quite abnormal, it has not been possible to carry this out. The space afforded would in many of the City streets be insufficient to accommodate the small black circles used to indicate the purveyors of stimulants. Even in other parts it will be seen how closely the marks lie together: in West Central London, for instance, and upon most of the great highways which pass through the more densely populated areas.

The map shows elementary schools and centres of religious work as well as places licensed for the sale of alcoholic drinks, different colours and symbols being used to represent each type. The object is to give to the ordinary reader, at a glance, an impression of the ubiquitous and manifold character of the three most important social influences. It would have been greatly more interesting if extended

to the whole area of London; but this (although I have the requisite information) was hardly possible because of the large scale which is essential if such a map is to be intelligible at all. On the other hand, for public purposes, the enlargement would be both practicable and useful, and would show some interesting features, such as the great numbers of fully licensed houses in old centres like Deptford and Greenwich; the large proportion of 'jug' licences in modern working-class districts like East Dulwich, and the aggregation of licensed houses near areas within which they are prohibited, such as Shaftesbury Park. Detailed references to these and to similar points respecting the local distribution of public-houses will be found in the notes to the coloured, sectional maps which accompany previous volumes.

§ 2

PROSTITUTION

In the course of our inquiry we have obtained a great amount of information regarding the scarcely disguised practice of sexual immorality, in which prostitutes play their professional part. For the vast majority of these women some degree of publicity is almost essential. Facilities are requisite, and the men they would attract must know them for what they are. To such experienced onlookers as the police, the women who carry on this business become personally well known, and the most ordinary observer would rarely make a mistake in judging them. Even if for the moment they desire to hide their character, something in walk or manner is apt to betray them. Their places of resort and their hours are perfectly well known, and the houses they use can be brought under observation. The traffic is thus entirely open to both legislative and philanthropic interference ; both Law and Gospel are unhesitating in their condemnation of it ; and yet the practice continues unchecked, and in some of its manifestations is a positive scandal.

This, however, does not imply supineness on the part of either the authorities or the public ; so far from this being the case, the amount of effort made to suppress the traffic and rescue the women is very great, even astonishingly so considering the unsatisfactory results attained, as has been told in a preceding volume ; and I would now return to the subject in order to give those of my readers who choose to follow me particulars of the various shapes which the evil assumes ; for only so can we appreciate the real nature of the task of holding it in check.

It needs to be borne in mind that the immorality involved is entirely different, in character and even in origin, from ordinary loose conduct between the

sexes. Its sole aim is the satisfaction of male sexual passion, without the responsibilities of marriage or anything that can be called a social relationship. The female share in the matter is strictly professional. The woman's passions are hardly involved at all, she is moved neither by excitement nor by pleasure; all question of 'fall' is past; as we find her, she merely seeks her living in the easiest way open to her, or is induced to follow this course of life by the desire for fine clothes and luxuries not otherwise attainable.

The women thus employed are of every class; or, to speak more exactly, men of every class are served, and the women may be classified accordingly; and in every class we find the same main distinction between the women who take the men to their own homes or are visited there by them, and those who seek the accommodation needed elsewhere. The difference is one of the utmost importance.

The terms 'brothel,' 'house of accommodation,' and 'disorderly house' are often used indiscriminately, but do really give expression to this radical divergence. A 'brothel' is a house in which prostitutes live, to which they bring men, and where they are at home to those who visit them. 'A house of accommodation' is one to which the women, and sometimes the men, know that they can resort as required. Both are technically 'disorderly,' but 'brothel' always implies a house where several of these women ply their trade together; and yet another arrangement is therefore possible, for prostitutes may live alone and bring men home to their lodgings or be visited by them there. All these methods are found in each class socially.

In every case the women need protection and in nearly every case it is secured. Thus in the brothel, besides the house mistress, who is usually a forcible, middle-aged woman, there is always a man in reserve who can act as 'chucker-out' if required; and a house

of accommodation takes care to be equally well provided; while those women who habitually bring strangers to their own private rooms must exercise a good deal of prudence, and excepting as regards women of a rather superior class, do in fact rarely live alone, being usually associated with a man who shares their earnings, and in case of need can take their part. These men are known as 'bullies,' and the word may describe equally their position towards the woman or her clients. The relations between prostitute and protector in this unhallowed association have, it would seem, something of the character of a marriage—the tie a lasting one, and the woman often devoted to the man even though very roughly treated. Indeed it is said the rougher the man the more devoted the woman, his roughness, perhaps, making him the better protector. The only utterly exposed class are the low women, who, under cover of darkness, make use of back streets and open spaces, and whose unprotected state gave rise to the horrible tragedies of a few years back.

In describing this social evil, I cannot avoid going into some detail. At the top of the scale, there are the fashionable brothels. In these the younger women are carefully secluded; when they walk out they are accompanied; they do not solicit; they merely show themselves. They are protected even from themselves. I do not suppose that if they wished to do so, they could very easily escape. The men who frequent such houses are rich. They are not robbed; they are merely plundered. Brothels of this high class avoid publicity, and by discretion seek to escape prosecution. There are not many of them, and they are located where they are least likely to be noticed as a nuisance. Their *clientèle* is private and personal; those who seek them know where to find them. They are solely West-End institutions. In this mode of life they represent fashion.

From these high-class houses some of the women frequent public places, such as music-halls, and between them and kept women who lead independent lives there is some interchange, and occasionally some confusion of rôle. If living as kept women, they do not come within the law, and are almost unapproachable for rescue purposes.

Below these are a large number of less fashionable but still mostly West-End houses, well known to the police, those who keep them being frequently prosecuted and the brothels closed. This does not seriously affect them. The house is cleared, the fines paid, and a fresh start promptly made somewhere near. In some cases the same proprietors keep more than one house, and can transfer the inmates ; in others a friendly understanding between two proprietors serves the same end. The girls from these houses walk the streets or frequent public places, and a slight change of locality for the brothel does not matter. Thus not much is gained by such prosecutions. A local authority or an active vigilance committee can clear the district they control, but the mischief is simply moved elsewhere. If action is only taken when the neighbours complain, it results in the concentration of such houses in certain streets, which lose their character entirely. The police never interfere unless complaints are made.

Though activity is maintained by the frequenting of public places in the evening and until late at night, each house has also its regular connection, and while some of the inmates are out, others stay at home to receive their visitors. These girls are not so closely looked after as those in the class above, and except that they are often in debt, and perhaps purposely kept in debt to the house mistress, they have practically full liberty. If dissatisfied with the results of the associated household, there is nothing to prevent them from joining some rival establishment, or from striking out

on an independent course, as is done by many of those whom they meet nightly in the streets, competing in various ways for the same class of patronage. Even the trammels of debt could hardly stop them, for although it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to get any respectable employment, in their own walk in life they are free agents; and moreover the rescue ladies are everywhere watching for an opportunity, and always ready to help.

As regards the finance of the business, a heavy charge for board and lodging usually represents the share of the house, together with a large profit on the wine which it is customary to order. The girls themselves keep their fees, and from night to night or week to week may meet very varying fortune. Some can and do save, but as a rule whatever they have after paying for their board is spent on dress.

Girls of this class are found also among those who live quietly in lodgings and use the houses of accommodation. They often 'chum' with a companion, the two sharing a room. Their way of life is almost certainly known to the people of the house in which they reside, by the hours kept, but nothing occurs which need shock the neighbours. It is said that the ladies' public lavatories and dressing-rooms in Central London are used for putting on and (before going home) washing off, the customary paint.

From this level there is a descending scale, in which the organized brothel plays a decreasing part, and the use of houses of accommodation an increasing one. Falling lower still, the bully protector or 'ponce' becomes a common factor, and takes us on to the lowest grade of all, when robbery is the object in view and drunken men the prey. But over a very large part of this traffic a drunken man might probably suffer robbery, and, under such circumstances, few men are prepared to prosecute.

The descending scale is represented by locality, and again by the class of women employed, as also by their age, and each locality, each class, and each age presents special difficulties to the reformer.

Mingled with the more regular members of this varied group of women, there are in each class some who take to the life occasionally when circumstances compel: Tailoresses or dressmakers, for example, who return to their trade in busy times; girls from low neighbourhoods who eke out a living in this way; or poor women, neglected wives or widows, under pressure of poverty; or, worst of all, such as are driven to this course by a bad husband or a bad father. Some jealousy is felt, by those who are more strictly professional, of incursions into the field occupied.

The professional character of the part played by the women is very much against rescue work, and all our informers agree in saying that the professional element is growing stronger. This is particularly the case with foreign girls, many of whom, it is said, lay by their money, looking forward to a return to their native land, and a reputable future. In such a case we may safely assume that there is no self condemnation.

But, as a rule, it is rare to find any sense of sin, and if it can be aroused at all, it is very precarious. When quite new to the life, the memories of home may have power, or if a baby is born, the maternal instinct may make rescue possible. Otherwise, there is little to stimulate the conscience. There being no strong passion involved, there is little reaction to be laid hold of, perhaps nothing more poignant than a dull sense of degradation.

A girl's first slip may have been due to passion (sometimes), or to sexual softness (more often), or to wantonness (more often still); with man ordinarily though not always as seducer, and with other members

of the community—parents, employers and companions—sharing the responsibility in a hundred ways; but, however it may have been brought about, it is almost invariably accompanied by a feeling of shame and loss, if not of sin. The sliding down into professional prostitution, which is happily comparatively rare, is a fall of an entirely different character, in which need for money, whether due to the pressure of want or of extravagance, is the principal factor. The impulse may arise from love of ease or as a counsel of despair, or from a recklessness that lies between the two. Sometimes the life is entered upon quite coldly. 'Others do it,' is the usual formula whether of persuasion or excuse. Self-condemnation hardly comes in; conscience is burked.

However adopted, very few are happy in the life. Most would say they wished to quit it; there may even be a strong feeling of disgust; but it is seldom that those who have become accustomed to this evil mode of living care to take the only road of escape and seek refuge in a rescue home, or who, if they take this step, can stand the hard work and discipline that follow. As to this the facts are undeniable; the evidence is overwhelming.

If, however, the professional character on which I have laid stress militates strongly against successful rescue work, as has been shown in a previous volume, it may perhaps help to facilitate regulation.

The object of vigilance committees is to check or suppress the open practice of vice by putting the law in motion, and stimulating the police and local authorities to take independent action. Disorderly houses can be closed whether they be brothels or houses of accommodation, and the keepers of them fined. Public-houses, dancing saloons, music halls, theatres and other licensed places of amusement, may lose their licence if they

'harbour' prostitutes in pursuit of their calling. Nor can the streets legally be used as a rendezvous. Solicitation is an offence punishable by law. Finally, under a recent Act, any man who lives on the earnings of a prostitute is liable to six months' hard labour. Each committee—besides putting in motion, wherever it is possible, the machinery of the law—makes great efforts to stir up public opinion, and social pressure is brought to bear upon the owners of houses put to improper uses.

The result has been rather to show the irrepressible character of the evil than to cure or even diminish it. It can be shifted from place to place and forced to change its shape, but it continues to exist none the less, and this being recognised, it becomes more and more difficult to get any action taken at all. Enthusiasm finds the road blocked and begins to despair. And then the voices of those who cry for regulation by the State are heard. It is, they claim, the 'only way'; but for my part I do not think such a step necessary, or, if taken, likely to be efficacious. It may, however, be wise to accept the existence of the evil as in some form inevitable, and to turn our attention to forcing it to take the least objectionable and most manageable shapes.

The organization of the brothel, and public solicitation in the streets are much the most objectionable features, and these it would be possible to suppress entirely, if at the same time the severity of pressure was removed as regards houses of accommodation and some habitual places of resort. I do not propose that either of these should be legalized or encouraged, but merely that their existence and uses should not, as a matter of practical administration, lead to prosecution, so long as decency and order were observed.

Most of the premises naturally used for one or other of these purposes—hotels and coffee houses, or certain

places of amusement—require a licence to carry on their legitimate trades, and the police already have the right of entry. Consequently in these cases it is comparatively easy to enforce a standard of decency and order; whilst even the lowest night-house or dancing saloon can be made responsible for the maintenance of order.

It happens that some of the less socially objectionable developments are precisely those in which it is often most difficult to draw the line between the actually moral and immoral, the legitimate and illegitimate, or between actions that can be or which practically cannot be interfered with. For instance, it is not possible to hold an hotel responsible for the legality of the sexual relations of its guests, and if it were possible it would be an intolerable interference with personal liberty of action, while as regards those who frequent places of amusement a censorship of morals is equally out of the question, and all that can be insisted on is outward decorum of behaviour.

If brothels of every class were persistently hunted out and prosecuted all over London while houses of accommodation were only watched, there would soon be no more of the former. The distinction between the two is clear enough. In the one case the girls live on the premises and receive the men there; in the other they come as to an hotel. Brothels represent the worst forms of organized and associated vice, and one great advantage that would tend at once to follow from their abolition would be the collapse of the trade in girls, which is by far the most iniquitous feature of prostitution.

It may be said that it would be impossible to prosecute a girl who chose to bring men for immoral purposes to the rooms in which she lived, and that it would be difficult to say what number of girls, two, three, four or more, living together, would constitute

a brothel. It seems to me, however, that any association of girls for this purpose would be considered illegal, although unless neighbours complained, it is probable that small combinations would escape notice, and to the extent that this happened they would be comparatively innocuous.

If it were less difficult to find the accommodation they require away from their own homes it is probable that the homes would be used much less for the purpose. This in itself would be a great improvement. The character of the house frequented and the fact that it would be under observation and always liable to prosecution, would provide reasonable security against violence on the one hand and robbery on the other; the prostitutes would no longer need special protection, and the odious figure of the bully might pass with that of the procuress into limbo.

Every possible course has disadvantages, and I do not pretend that the one proposed is without them. I put it forward as tending to amend the most serious developments of a moral difficulty, with the hope that if successful, it might step by step be carried further.

If other places of resort were not closed to these women, the enforcement of the law against open solicitation in the streets would at any rate be much more possible. In this respect it is probable that the position of London is exceptional, not only on account of its size, but also because it contains so many irresponsible male visitors seeking an evening's amusement. The streets of most of our provincial towns are quiet and orderly; in them there are no scenes comparable to the flaunting display of vice in London, where, since the 'Endacott-Cass' case, the police rarely interfere. Some fresh effort is needed to put an end to a public scandal which undoubtedly conduces greatly to immorality.

The actual use of dark back streets, and courts, and quiet out-of-the-way squares, by the lowest class of

women, can only be checked by better lighting and patrolling, but the process of enforcing decency would be greatly facilitated if (as is perfectly possible) even this class had their houses of accommodation. The evil would be less.

The use of open spaces for immoral purposes is by no means limited to professional vice. So far as used in this way, it is by a low class of middle-aged women and young lads. As with the back streets, better lighting and constant patrolling, or the railing in and closing of such spaces at night, are the only ways to check this evil. Their adoption is even more necessary as regards the unprofessional than the professional side of immorality. Boys and girls wander off out of sight, and mischief ensues which might otherwise have been avoided; and young men and women who are keeping company deliberately make use of such opportunities.

The proposals I have made do not touch the connection of prostitution with disease, nor do I think that this can be dealt with by Contagious Diseases regulations, except as regards a body of men under discipline, confined within moderate bounds, as in a garrison town; but, in these cases, the special licensing of houses of accommodation open only to certificated women and those accompanying them may be desirable.

§ 3

POLICE AND CRIME

We have listened to many severe judgments on the failure of the police to deal with minor breaches of the law and to control disorder, especially with regard to drink, prostitution and betting ; and I propose to quote some of these, together with others that take a kinder view.

From adjacent parishes in Bethnal Green, for instance, we have the following : 'The police not sufficient, and those there are not active enough. They won't interfere to stop the most hideous disorder in the streets; they take the line that they can only interfere when there is a breach of the peace, and will take no notice of the most bestial drunkenness and the foulest language.' The street in front of the church, which stands in a busy thoroughfare, has at each end two corner public-houses, and the language and noise are complained of as unbearable and loathsome ; while, if the police are looked for, they will perhaps be found 'talking to one of the publicans.' The other account is to much the same effect : 'Not half enough of them, and see as little as possible ;' 'afraid to assert themselves in a district like this.'

From a rough part of Battersea, in addition to the general charge of inefficiency, it is complained that the police are too friendly with bad characters ; and the somewhat inconsistent criticism is offered that they are 'changed too often.' Another of the clergy from the same neighbourhood speaks of the police as 'helpful,' but says they take no notice of drink, and won't stop fighting and rowdiness. A City missionary, whose work lies in a very low district in the outskirts, says, 'all that the police care about is to keep the main roads right. They do not go down the rough back streets, but stop at the top.' 'The police practically connive

at street betting,' says the vicar of a parish in Walworth; and 'at open immorality,' says a Congregationalist minister from an outlying district, where, in quiet, secluded streets, this is a horrible evil.

From a difficult spot in East London we hear a more balanced view. The relations of the police and the people are described as being very friendly. As to ordinary street rows and fights, it is added, 'the police don't as a rule see them, and don't want to; for one man to stop a fight is an exceedingly difficult task, and to keep real order in such a district as this would require a small army of police.' 'Good and helpful, but not enough of them,' is frequently reported; and an outdoor medical officer of one of the East London Unions says he finds them 'efficient and capable, taking pains to keep people out of trouble.' A Catholic priest, also in this part of London, admits that amongst his people the police must be rather rough, but thinks they are too much so, and themselves too much given to drink. A nurse who knows nearly all the police in her district, and has seen them in their homes where she attends professionally, seems to be very friendly with them and they with her. She speaks of them as a very respectable set of men, and praises their kindness to lost children and to those who require to be helped across the street. 'But,' she says, 'they are all in with the publican and are given drink.' When there is trouble with a prisoner it is her experience that the policeman has himself had drink.

We have heard a good deal of friendly 'testimonials' to police officers of higher grade, initiated by those interested in the drink trade, and speaking generally the treating of the police by the publicans is the main substance of every complaint. It is not possible to deny that some treating takes place; the question is solely as to its extent and the effect produced by it on the conduct of the police. A leading Congregationalist

minister with a very wide popular experience says: 'The police are only human. I have seen them being treated again and again, but have not the heart to report them. If you had archangels, in the second generation they would be taking bribes; under the present system it is inevitable.' Municipal control of the public-houses he regarded as the only remedy; and on the whole, he praises the action of the police highly.

Bribery is perhaps an unnecessarily hard word for the occasion. Some publicans pay a shilling, or in some cases two, a week. Many large shops do the same. An East End vicar said he never offered the police anything himself, but he was sure that his school superintendent did. It is accounted legitimate for them to earn a trifle by waking people in the morning; and publicans often arrange to pay for that nominal service. 'Everyone likes to be on the right side of the policeman,' says one of the East End clergy. 'It is done more that the men should willingly do their duty than that they should neglect it,' says another; or, as a third puts it, regarding his own position only, 'They are always ready to help the church, but are all open to a tip.' The giving and taking of drink is far more serious, and it is partly because the police authorities have set their faces so strongly against this practice, visiting both giver and taker, if detected, with the severest penalties, that the plan of a small money payment for some nominal service has been adopted instead. Nevertheless drink still passes; it is not possible to stop it entirely; 'any policeman who looks as if he would like it is sure to get it,' and it must be said that many others, such as postmen, are not above asking for it. As bribery it hardly counts. It is the act itself that is wrong; a dereliction of duty, which even if it

were not a breach of discipline, would still be a step out of the right path for anyone whose business it is to maintain order.

'There seems to be some improvement. The tipping and drink giving may not be any better than they were, but at any rate they are no worse,' says another of the East End clergy. 'The police do their duty, although these abuses exist.' When he first came to the parish, ten years ago, he thought very badly of what went on, because it seemed that it might be the beginning of so much, but the growth of evil he feared has not occurred. Other information, and especially that obtained from the police authorities and the police themselves, mentions treating as being less frequently practised; a great effort having been made to check the practice; but it is manifest that it must be very difficult to prevent. Apart from any wish to avoid legal penalties for breaches of the law, it must always be an object to a publican to have the good will of the constable, and if it can be secured in that way, what is easier than to deposit a pot of ale in some pre-arranged conveniently dark corner at a pre-arranged hour, and 'no one the wiser'? Moreover, it is a matter in which the police would always screen each other if possible. To refuse to take advantage of such chances is an offence against the brotherhood. A teetotal policeman, it is humorously said, 'ought to be ashamed of himself, spoiling the beat for the poor fellow that follows.' The whole system is extremely 'English.' This is remarked by the clerk to a London local authority, who regarded the police as specifically good, and especially as being 'well suited to the national character,' tips, drinks and all. This witness was struck on the one hand with their management of a crowd and their control of the traffic, and on the other with the orderly instincts of the people in so readily submitting to

control, and had often noted, as is, indeed, a matter of general observation, the obliging ways of the police, particularly in helping women and children across busy streets, sometimes carrying a child in their arms.

So far I have not quoted the police themselves on their relations with the publicans. Selected members of the force were our 'guides, philosophers and friends,' over thousands of miles of walks through the streets of London. During these walks almost every social influence was discussed, and especially those bearing upon vice and crime, drunkenness and disorder. The street, the house, or perhaps some man seen, were reminiscent of an incident, or brought to mind a tale, tragic, pathetic or comic, as might happen. In all cases the views of our guides were confidential, but some points of general interest may be touched upon without indiscretion.

The hours of duty are 6 a.m. to 10 a.m., and 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. for one set, and 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., and 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. for another, being the day's work divided, whilst night duty is taken in one spell, lasting from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. For night patrols 5 p.m. to 1 a.m. is the regular time, and for those stationed at 'points' 9 a.m. to 1 p.m., and 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. ('early' points), and 1 p.m. to 5 p.m., and 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. ('late' points). Night is more disagreeable than day work, and a fixed point than a beat. Not only is the latter less tiring, but it is easier to get rid of 'talkers and would-be friends.' The regulation of traffic, though interesting, is an arduous task, and not every policeman is capable of doing it.

The duties, especially during the early years of a constable's career, are intensely irksome: almost intolerable, said one who had been previously a clerk. A countryman not too highly educated conforms most easily to the ordinary routine duties, and often makes the

best policeman. As to actual money wages, the ordinary Metropolitan P.C. starts at twenty-four shillings a week, and rises at the rate of a shilling each year for eight years to thirty-two shillings. There he stops. His next rise is to sergeant. Then to station sergeant; then inspector, or possibly sub-divisional inspector, and the height of ambition is to be superintendent. Extra service money is divided amongst the men, and does not amount to much per head. The theatre is the most regular employer.

In rough streets the police make a point of knowing men by name and sight. 'If the rough characters know that they are known it takes all the fight out of them.' When there is a domestic quarrel the police don't interfere, but if it 'comes out of doors' they must. A policeman, if he sees that the row is going to be big, whistles for aid; but never goes away to seek it, as that would be considered cowardly. Help is always near. But, as already noted, the rough courts are avoided. The disorderly people might be locked up constantly, but what would be the good of it? What is wanted (say the rank and file of the force) is not more men 'run in,' but magistrates on the Bench who will convict, and not be too ready to believe any tale the prisoners tell. So capricious are the decisions that the police do not know how to act. On the whole it is the policy of the London police to be too easy rather than too exacting, and if it is complained that they are, in especial, not sufficiently strict in rough districts, it must be remembered that the standard varies. Conduct which in Cadogan Square would lead to the police cells, might be passed over in Slaidburn Street. 'Faults and mistakes occur,' admitted a loyal member of the force, 'but it is among the young and raw, fresh from the country; a policeman is not made in a day; but there are no police like ours in the world, we are nearly perfect.'

The relations of the police with the working classes are certainly friendly, and may be described as 'not unfriendly,' even with criminals, 'if you take them fair and square.' 'They know its your business to do it, and don't blame you for it' said one of the inspectors in the detective department; 'but it is dangerous to take them in what they call an underhand manner.' The game has its rules. 'Coppers' noses' (or informers) are plentiful, but you need to be careful how you use them.

In previous volumes we have noted the presence of the criminal classes in different parts of London, and have there included some remarks on their habits. We have seen that they are apt to 'flock together' as the proverb says, and that to their old haunts they find their way back, after a residence in gaol or absence from any other cause. It is seldom that any of the criminal class are found in model dwellings. 'A few convicts return to decent work, but those who take to crime again of course always say the police were hard on them; that it was impossible to get a place, and that in consequence of this they were driven to crime.' On this point all the police state that no information about ticket-of-leave men is given, and the official rules as to this are very strict.

The times and occasions of pleasure for others are often a thief's best season for business. It is noted that the streets they live in are quiet on race days. But there are various classes of thieves and many varieties of criminal, all specializing, it is said, in one direction or another. Two very respectable-looking and very well-dressed men were pointed out to us as well-known 'busters,' that being the slang term for burglars. The thieves call the police 'rozzers,' a word of doubtful origin, but perhaps a further heritage of Sir Robert Peel; the more common term 'copper,' with the verb 'to cop,' is used in

speaking of the police by the respectable poor. 'Tea-leaf' is for some inexplicable reason the name used by the police for pickpockets.

Lust is said to be the ruling passion with criminals. We are told that 'as a rule they are very careful about drink [sobriety is, indeed, almost essential to their course of life]; but they will do anything for the woman for whom they have taken a fancy, or to cut each other out! They often take up with some newly-fallen woman, and steal in order that the girl's love of finery may be satisfied; of course abandoning her by and by for some newer "flame."' Criminals are heroes to the young. There are boys who are proud to be seen talking with a well-known 'lag'; and if they themselves take to stealing, they see nothing wrong in so doing; they are only ashamed of being caught; and in this course of conduct they are often borne out by their parents. 'If one of them brings home a hock of bacon, his mother cooks it and asks no questions.' 'Hooliganism has been exaggerated by the Press,' but still 'there is real ground for complaint,' and need for stronger action on the part of both magistrates and police. So say our witnesses. Undoubtedly the checking of this evil lies in repression, but agencies are needed to keep loafing boys out of the street, and turn their energies in some better direction.

Burglary, which is perhaps the most characteristic London crime, is, of course, most prevalent in the outskirts. 'It is not safe,' says a South London Baptist minister, 'to leave a house during the day or night. The robbers must be on the watch; they usually break in during the afternoon or evening.' From the same district came several good burglary stories. A man applied to one of the clergy for assistance, saying he could not go to work because he had no tools. The

vicar gave him money for this purpose, and shortly after, meeting his deaconess, asked her if she knew anything of the man. 'Certainly,' she replied, 'he's a notorious burglar.' And a deaconess, perhaps the same one, tells of a man who, as she was going about her visits, called to her from a window to come and see him, as he wanted a wound dressed, and who, on being asked how he had received it, replied, 'Well, I was getting out of a gentleman's window in the night, and I fell on the spikes below.' A third, more gruesome, story is that of burglars who, breaking into a house, found an old man dead, lying in state in his front drawing-room. They decamped, taking nothing.

At headquarters the expressed aim is that the police should be always in the background, except when there is real need, but that then they should come down like a thunderbolt. Their orders are to keep their eyes open and learn what goes on without asking questions, and to do too little rather than too much. The statement that 'the police do their duty very well, or, at least, as well as they are allowed to,' reflects the same idea. 'The action of the magistrates,' continues this last witness, who is vicar of a poor parish, 'does not encourage them to keep really good order; if they take people up, excepting for really serious offences, they are generally only snubbed for their pains. Still, there has been a great decrease of rowdyism in the streets.' This recognition of the great services rendered by the police meets full approval in the following opinion from a neighbouring, equally poor, parish: 'The police are an excellent body of men, who perform their duties with great tact, to which largely is due the orderliness of the population.' It is further maintained by this witness that on the whole, for exceptions must be admitted, the police have grasped the fact that to treat people roughly is the surest way to make them disorderly. In the opinions expressed on various matters by a third

vicar, whose people are rougher still, the dictates of expediency in police administration find full recognition. Speaking of the law as to 'off' licences, this witness says: 'If a man cannot drink "on" the premises, then he drinks "off" them on the opposite side of the road. The law may be that the man may not drink within sight of the "off" licensed house which supplied him, but the law is not enforced. Very few policemen come down here, but even if those who do tried to enforce it, they would find the task impossible. Police practice can only go just a little ahead of the morality of the district. In all they do to suppress rowdyism they must have the moral support of the better class of the neighbours if they are to be successful. Public opinion here does not distinguish between drinking five or fifty yards away from the beer-house. The police are really wise in acting as they do; they would soon find out how weak they were if they came into conflict with the neighbourhood on a question like this. The people would find it out, too, and there would be an end of all respect for their authority.'

Thus I think that in general the principles and the practices of the London police force in the matter of maintaining order are fully justified. As regards venality, too, they come out fairly well. A more serious charge is that as police court witnesses they are too expert. There may have been hesitation about making a charge, but once made it must be proved. For this, sworn testimony is the accepted method, and consistency is apt to be regarded as more important than truth. A magistrate, who is constantly hearing their evidence, tells us he learns when to distrust it. Perhaps this is the safeguard, for if accepted in so critical a spirit, this expert professional evidence will be taken for what it is worth, and no more.

Some defects have been mentioned, and others

doubtless exist, for in no walk of life can perfect probity or unfailing capacity be expected. When, however, the great extent of the responsibilities of the police is taken into account, it has to be admitted that these responsibilities are well met, and that the power wielded is very rarely abused. We may with reason be proud of our London police force.

§ 4

THE ORGANIZATION OF CHARITY

Our general review of the local conditions of life, contained in the volumes describing the religious influences, includes a short account of the administration of the Poor Law in each union. From these it may be noted that the principles and practices adopted vary widely; more so than seems reasonable in a matter which is not only of common interest, but of which the charge is largely met out of a common purse, and as to which there has accumulated the experience of more than half a century. There are also other reasons for thinking that the time is ripe for the unification of Poor Law administration, not only in London but throughout the country. But it is only as regards London that I now speak.

Where great aggregations of population are brought together, there is (as we have found in London, and it is equally true elsewhere) a tendency towards uniformity of class in each section. Poor districts become more uniformly poor, because the better off leave, and betake themselves to the parts they prefer. If therefore, under these conditions the cost of the poor under the Poor Law is to be borne locally, it

necessarily presses unjustly. On the other hand, if the community as a whole bears the cost, it must control the management; and yet the administration, in order that it may have any real life, must be local. Amongst these rocks the path of compromise, by means of partial equalization of charges, is not entirely satisfactory.

The divergence of view as to what are the best principles of administration is really less than it appears to be under the magnifying glass of democratic ideas. Those who administer the law differ among themselves far less than do those who elect them, experience of the work tending to bring together those whose views were at the outset perhaps far apart. It would, therefore, seem possible to agree upon general rules of action to which the whole administration should conform, in connection with which the charges might be further, if not completely, unified, and greater practical efficiency be combined with many economies.

The Poor Law is the foundation of organized charitable relief. The next step demands the limitation of its field by the recognition and, so far as need be, the organization, of voluntary effort; a recognition which should be mutual, and thus lead to a clear understanding of the part to be played by each in dealing with poverty and its troubles. In London I believe that a practical agreement on this subject could be reached. An immense amount of experience has been accumulated by unions adopting quite different lines of action in perfect good faith and with an equal desire to assist the poor; and the general drift of this experience is in the direction of co-ordinating the efforts of official and voluntary relief.

I myself advocate as a third element the introduction of Old Age Pensions, contributed directly from the national purse, not so much in aid of poverty as of

thrift ; but acting directly and indirectly in relief both of the Poor Law and of private charity ; simplifying the problems which each has to treat ; and making concerted action on their part in dealing with destitution and distress more practicable and more efficacious.

To this end the recipient of a pension must have kept in the main clear of poor relief ; otherwise the fewer the conditions imposed the better. The coming of the pension at a fixed age must be certain, provided independence has been maintained before. Under these two fundamental conditions the expectation of the pension will surely stimulate individual effort to hold out till it comes and to add something to its meagre provision. Thrift tests are unnecessary and delusive. To adopt them is to drop the reality in catching at the apparent, like the dog in the fable.

As my plan bears closely on the administration both of the Poor Law and of private charity, I will venture to recapitulate it.* I would make seventy the age at which a free and honourable pension should be granted to everyone who up to then had not received poor relief (other than medical), and I put the amount at seven shillings per week, in place of the more generally adopted proposal of five shillings a week at sixty-five. Proof of age, nationality, and residence in England during the working years of life would be required. There would be no restriction as to earnings (if at seventy any are still possible) ; nor as to amount of savings : the seven shillings would be in addition to whatever the recipient had or might earn, but would be drawn weekly by personal application, or in cases of debility or illness by some accredited relative or friend. If on this system any who did not exactly need the money, should still collect it, so much the better for maintaining the dignity of the rest ; as one

* *Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor—a proposal.* Macmillan, 1899.

may welcome a bishop or a lord who deigns to travel third class.

At and after seventy most of the difficulties and, I think, all the dangers of a universal pension system melt away. Its cost is no longer prohibitive, while the coming of the pension would be of untold value in limiting the liabilities which prolonged life entail, not only on the individual, but on thrift agencies and on charitable funds, and would lift from very many old hearts the fear of the workhouse at the last.

It is, however, before seventy, and mainly between sixty and seventy, that the battle of independence has to be fought; and it is to the beneficial effect of a coming pension on the lives of the people, especially during this period, that I attach especial importance. It is this effect, moreover, which brings the subject definitely within the range of the subject I am now discussing.

To those who demand that the State provision should begin at sixty, and who claim that it is impossible for working men to save enough for maintenance in old age, I would say that most could provide enough to eke out the earnings which are still possible between sixty and seventy; and that their clubs could more easily assist them in this if relieved of all liability for those whose lives are prolonged. To those again who take their stand on sixty-five as the right pension age, with five shillings as the amount, I can only say that in my view, seven shillings at seventy provides a more practical scheme. The cost would be substantially less, and the difficulties, both economic and administrative, very much so. The future seven shillings coming at the age of seventy would, perhaps, loom as large in the imagination of a man of fifty or sixty, as would five shillings accruing at sixty-five. Up to seventy he would have to provide for his life; beyond that age he need not worry, though few who save at all would limit their action

so closely or be content when seventy was at last reached, if they had not some funds in hand to help out the pension allowance. The motive to save up to the time of the pension and beyond it would be strong ; as also, too, would be the motive with those living nearer the line of pauperism, to avoid application to the Poor Law. The effect of looking forward to a pension would be the exact opposite to that of the anticipation of Poor Law relief, any claim to which must rest upon absolute destitution.

It is a mistake to suppose that no advantage would come except to those who live beyond seventy. The provident would feel the benefit at once through the decreased rate of contribution for remote benefits, which would be possible if their clubs could omit old age in their calculations, while the effective value of any other savings they are able to make will be immediately increased, in so far as the possible years of extreme old age can be dropped out of financial count. For very many, the one doubt as to being able to escape the workhouse would be removed. And even those who largely trust to others to do their saving for them, would find it far easier to obtain aid from some old employer, or friend, or relative, or even child, if the liability were limited to a definite term. Those of the improvident class who lived past seventy, might still find themselves stranded, without friends, in their old age ; but, to parody an old rhyme—

> 'When friends are gone, and money spent,
> Then Pensions are most excellent'

and the certainty of a pension accruing would often bridge the gulf, enabling those who might otherwise have been abandoned to the Poor Law, to maintain a decent home outside.

My plan goes still a little further, and it is at this point particularly that united action between the Poor Law and private charity becomes essential. There will

be cases unsuited for the Poor Law, for which it may be nevertheless difficult to secure sufficient private assistance; cases in which a small pension is clearly the form in which assistance could be given most judiciously. Such may occur at almost any age, but it is more usually after sixty that, failing other help, the workhouse comes so near. It would then seem very hard that the pension assured to any who live till seventy, should not in some way be made available; and I suggest that with the co-operation of the Guardians, who are directly interested in keeping people off the rates, a case might be made out for an *immediate pension at a permanently lower rate*, which would be actuarially equivalent to the value of the deferred pension, provided the recipient can by some means be assured a total income from all sources sufficient for independent maintenance. The object would be to prevent the dissipation of savings, and to rouse in time the effort that is needed to secure an adequate provision for life. Practically no one would be likely to ask this accommodation who would not otherwise become a pauper; charity would find its opportunity, and while the national exchequer would hardly suffer at all, the rates would profit.

If the separate spheres of Poor Law and charity were distinctly recognised, and pensions, thus adapted, were available to assist voluntary effort of all kinds, out-relief could and should be abolished. With its abolition all difficulty of deciding what agency ought to be employed in the relief of poverty would pass away. Evidently no case ought to be relegated to the workhouse which could be satisfactorily dealt with outside. Those who are abandoned to that last resource, because from sickness or infirmity they are unfitted for any home that is open to them, would be cared for in one building, while the destitute who come upon the Poor Law from any other cause would be accommodated in another building and altogether differently regarded.

It is commonly said that few of the old who are now inmates of workhouses could, if a pension were granted, find any home outside. That may be so, but it hardly affects the question. The object of the pension, actual or prospective, is to *maintain* a home, which is a very different thing from suddenly *finding* one. The pension itself is only one factor out of many that would be found working with it in this direction. The preservation of the homes would exercise a constant wholesome influence on family relations as well as on thrift. The young would look to the old, instead of only the old looking to the young. Some, doubtless, might be completely stranded in old age, and might be glad to abandon their pension for the haven of the workhouse, and there would be others whose tempers made home life impossible; but I cannot doubt that if they were no longer a financial burthen, most old people whose health permitted it would remain outside. For the most part they do so now where out relief is given, though the amount allowed them is very small. It is only those whose infirmities are such that they require a nurse's care who ought to be recommended to give up home and pension in favour of the workhouse infirmary. Such as these should, indeed, be encouraged to do so, but it would be the work of charitable and friendly kindness to minister to the comfort and happiness of all such as can remain in the world outside.

The abolition of out-relief is, I think, essential, and at the same time quite possible, if Poor Law and organized private effort will work hand in hand, and if the pension, which becomes in itself a great motive to thrift, is assured in the future. The difficulty as to widows, though great, is not insuperable. Even now, most men's lives are insured to some extent; the immediately forlorn position of the wife and children they will leave behind readily fills their imagination.

A distinct tendency towards the increase of this provision is shown by the readiness to join temporary 'sharing-out' societies, as well as, and often in addition to, the permanent friendly societies, and by the increase of insurance for small sums in the Prudential and other companies. But whatever the amount be, it comes in a lump, and is in danger of being rapidly disbursed, so that the woman is destitute before she has had time to rearrange her life. It would be far better if, beyond the actual sum needed for funeral and mourning, which is generally much less than is actually spent, the money should be made payable in weekly instalments spread over twelve months. Thrift agencies might do something to encourage a provision of this kind. But even if the widow should be left entirely without resources, it would ordinarily be far better for her if assistance from the rates in the form of out-relief were not available. For the immediate needs of the widow and the orphan left without support, collections are commonly made among the deceased man's working mates, or his neighbours institute a 'friendly lead,' or money is raised by an effort of some other kind; and for her future, and that of her children, established forms of charity can always be relied on to some extent. No class of case (except sudden sickness or accident) obtains assistance so readily, for the simple reason that the stress is usually of a temporary nature. It is thus a form of charitable action which has satisfactory results to show: from dire want, with the future trembling in the balance, the recipients may pass to independence and a happy home. Not only can money be found, but friendly assistance and kindly personal relations. As things are, such aid as is forthcoming is too often speedily spent, and so soon as exhausted the Guardians are appealed to. To abolish out-relief would both strengthen these resources and cause a better use to be made of them; so that the

Guardians need not be applied to at all, unless it be necessary in some cases to relieve the mother by taking charge of some of her children of school age; or, in others, when from any circumstances the case cannot be helped to independence, it will evidently be better treated in the workhouse.

These, then, are the suggestions I would make towards the better organization of charitable relief in London:

(1) An extension of the system of a common Poor Fund, subject to agreement as to the principles of administration;

(2) Consultations between Boards of Guardians and charitable agencies as to relief, and a distinct recognition of their respective spheres;

and, as applicable to the whole country as well as London,

(3) Old age pensions, coupled with the then practicable abolition of out-relief.

By these means most of the difficulties, both of Poor Law administration and charity organization, would be removed or lightened.

§ 5

HOSPITALS AND NURSING

1. Hospitals

The great London hospitals occupy a singularly anomalous position. They usually owe their foundation to great benefactions of the past, and fresh gifts and legacies from time to time increase the invested capital from which income is drawn. But their annual expenditure far outruns this settled income, and to supplement the funds obtained from regular annual subscribers,

the general public is appealed to every year to enable the management to perfect and extend the work.

It is not as charities but as public institutions that the hospitals make their appeals. For success they even rely to some extent on steering clear of the social dangers feared in connection with eleemosynary work. It is claimed that to give to hospitals must surely be a good use of money, or, at any rate, quite safe to do no harm. Moreover, the co-operative basis is put forward as a ground for claiming support. Annual subscribers are privileged to recommend patients for free treatment, and the general public, to whom if they require aid, only a nominal charge is usually made, are encouraged to provide for this possible contingency by putting what they can afford into the boxes on the Saturday or Sunday devoted to hospital collections. The appeal is wide, and has been largely responded to, but everyone is left to assess himself in the matter. The result has been entirely successful as regards the acceptance of the hospitals as public institutions, participation in the benefits of which involve no lack of social independence, but unsuccessful as to the amount obtained, so that the beggar's position has to be assumed by these institutions, and amongst them there arises a most unseemly struggle for popular favour.

A very noble effort was made at the late Queen's Jubilee, suggested then, and supported and enforced since, by our present King, having for its object the provision of a capital endowment, or assured income sufficient to lift these great institutions out of the slough of recurring deficit. But their needs continually increase, and, though to some extent allayed, the general anxiety of their position remains, while it is scarcely possible to carry any further than has been done, the appeal which has been made to all classes.

The claim of the hospitals as public institutions is

three-fold in its character. First and foremost they stand ever ready to deal with the bodily injuries which cannot but occur in life, and with disease of every kind, especially when the accident or illness is of such a nature that home treatment is impossible or unsuitable. As a second claim, they become schools of surgery, medicine, and nursing. At the same time the provision of skilled aid available always, both to those who are admitted and to those who, as 'out-patients,' simply seek advice or medicine, leaves open the question of payment. This liability may still be left to the recipient or to some charitable person or agency interested in the case; but, inasmuch as, whether at the call of humanity or science, the need of dealing with cases of physical injury or disease, when once presented, overpowers every other consideration, and as consequently, the charges made to those who cannot afford more, are nominal if not remitted entirely, the institutions can claim support also as charities.

I would suggest that these three distinct claims to public recognition—as great foundations, as centres of medical treatment and as schools—may be regarded as pointing reasonably to different forms of financial resource. The establishment of institutions in which disease and accident can obtain skilled assistance and care, depends on large endowments, while the current cost of treatment should be borne either by the patients themselves, or by annual subscriptions and collections which may be regarded either as co-operation or charity. But the services rendered to the community by these institutions as schools of surgery, medicine and nursing should, I think, be recognised by a public grant.

Thus divided, the burthen would be more definitely assumed and more lightly borne. The same division of responsibility should be reflected in the management; a general board of control being constituted on which,

in addition to the trustees (who could stand for the endowments), public nominees would rightly have place both as representing the voluntary associated contributions towards maintenance and also the Government grant. Each hospital would doubtless continue to have its own list of subscribers, but the amount obtained in this way, as compared with the share of the general fund, would probably decrease and tend to become inconsiderable. For purposes of auditing, the three functions might be kept completely distinct. The items to be covered by the grant could be fixed, and all others be allotted as either capital or current expenditure. Such a division is very much needed, and, if clearly shown in the accounts, would facilitate appeals to the public (which under both heads would still be necessary), as well as tend to hold and strengthen popular interest in the management.

The board of control, having to a considerable extent the power of the purse, would exercise an influence over the individual management likely to be very valuable, and would further the allotment of special branches of work to special institutions. The board might also be able to arrange with the Poor Law authorities, so far as the spheres of hospitals and infirmaries overlap, and with the managers of convalescent institutions, for combined action, if these, by union among themselves, made such combination possible.

An organization of a semi-public character, such as is here suggested, might postpone the demand, which will otherwise be inevitable, for replacing 'voluntary taxation,' which falls only on the willing, by a special rate which all must pay, and while maintaining a more lively general interest and more elastic control than municipal management can give, leaves open the door to private benefactions.

2. Nursing

The value of hospitals as schools of surgery and medicine is hardly greater than is their usefulness as a training ground for nurses, and the field is no less large. As every young doctor gives some of his first years to hospital work, so must every qualified nurse, and two or three years' work in a hospital is now needed as a basis for the special experience required for institutional, district or private nursing. Moreover it is an employment suitable to women, and since the demand for trained nursing is great and steadily increasing, the number of those who wish to take the training is proportionately large.

There has been an astonishing change in this matter since Miss Nightingale volunteered to organize female nursing for the soldiers in the Crimea, a change which, happily, she herself survives to see. This change is perhaps the best fruit the past half century has to show, and in quality as well as quantity it still grows and ripens fast. Not only are skilled women available for every public or private emergency, not only has each city its nursing institute ready to respond to all appeals, but every little country district is finding that about £100 a year is well spent in this form of assistance to the doctor's work, by which the whole population benefits, and to which all who will can subscribe. In every neighbourhood so provided the direct influence on health is considerable; but far greater must be the gradual educational influence exerted, which it may be hoped will eventually bring enlightenment to the common ideas of the people not only as to the special requirements of a sick room, but on such subjects as cleanliness, the care of young children and the preparation of food, not for invalids alone; as well as on many other points of ordinary domestic

economy, which a trained nurse will generally understand, and will naturally inculcate.

On this I may quote from a letter written by Miss Nightingale addressed to the late Duke of Westminster in 1896, in connection with the Queen's Jubilee Institute. She writes : "We look upon the district nurse, if she is what she should be, and if we give her the training she should have, as the great civilizer of the poor, training as well as nursing them out of ill health into good health (health missioners), out of drink into self-control, but all without preaching, without patronizing—as friends in sympathy. But let them hold the standard high as nurses." This civilizing influence is now at work in all parts of London, and I will endeavour shortly to describe what seem to be its essential features.

It will be seen that the parish is by no means the only unit of area for the organization of district nursing in London. Many plans are being tried, and certain conclusions may, I think, be formulated, the first being that the unit of area will be governed by the character of the nursing given, as regards professional skill. The amount of training and aptitude brought to the work varies very much, and in the work to be done there is room for all grades. Even if it were possible that all who undertake to help the sick in their homes should be highly trained hospital nurses, this would not be desirable ; and the shape that the work has spontaneously assumed in London is not so chaotic as it may at first appear. If a map were prepared to show its main features in connection with parish divisions, it would display a comparatively small number of nursing centres, and surrounding each of these a large area of parishes, not having any independent organization, but accustomed to 'send for' a trained nurse when required. The more remote such

a centre is, the more likely that a special nurse will be provided for the parish.

For highly skilled nursing the larger unit thus obtained is in many ways convenient. A number of nurses collected at one centre, their course of work arranged and supervised by a lady superintendent who is herself a trained nurse, can accomplish far more, and do it far better, than if distributed amongst the parishes, and placed, each individually, under parish control. But it will follow that their work should be confined strictly to its professional side. The need for these services must constitute the paramount claim. Established as a centre of nursing assistance among a population containing adherents of many religious beliefs, and a still larger proportion of those who have practically none, the response cannot be limited to those of any particular religious community, nor be associated in any way with religious propaganda. It will follow also that the nurses will have no time to spare for any but their regular professional work. Their round of visits will be like those of a doctor, the patients being each in turn treated and then left to the care of their friends, while the nurse, promising to 'come again to-morrow,' passes on. It is equally out of the question that nurses so employed should be almoners of charity, or exponents of thrift and collectors of savings.

If the working establishment of a parish, or of a mission centre, includes a skilled nurse, the serious cases of illness which require her first care (a varying demand) will generally leave her with leisure to perform other duties, such as those I have mentioned, and these may be regarded in the eyes of those who employ her, or even in her own, as of the very first importance, and as the end to which everything done should conduce. From the fact that other qualities are thus held to be of equal or even greater importance than profes-

sional skill as a nurse, and that they can be secured if not more easily, at least more cheaply, it results that for most parish or mission nurses a lower standard of training is accepted. Quite apart from religious propaganda, or the inculcation of thrift, or the administration of charity, it is felt that a nurse who may often have time to spare; who, the distances being less, can more easily drop in again, or perhaps come round at night when needed; and the scope of whose duties might extend even to household assistance; is of wider use and greater value in the concentrated work of a parish or of a mission, than would be one of higher training strictly confined to her special professional function.

I venture to think that it may be possible to harmonise the two systems by combining them. No parish or part of London ought to be out of reach of a centre of undenominational highly-skilled nursing, towards the expenses of which those who would draw on its service might be expected to contribute; while beyond this there would be room for partially skilled women employed locally in connection with religious or charitable work, to whatever extent they could be provided. There need be no clashing, since in each particular case it would be for the doctor to decide as to what degree of nursing skill was essential; and co-operation might even be possible between the more professional and less professional, especially in cases when the home care was very deficient. As doctor leans on nurse, so might the nurse who could come in only once in the day, lean on the assistance of her who lived near, and each might learn something from the other.

Of all the forms that charity takes, there is hardly one that is so directly successful as district nursing. It is almost true to say that wherever a nurse enters, the standard of life is raised.

§ 6

HOUSING

In considering this subject I shall first enumerate the evils and try to allocate responsibility, and then indicate the efforts that are being made to improve matters, and their results.

Undesirable housing conditions may be classified under some twelve heads :—(1) Old property in bad condition ; (2) Comparatively new houses badly built ; (3) Property neglected by the owner ; (4) Property abused by the occupier ; (5) Houses built upon insufficient space ; (6) Houses erected on damp or rubbish-filled ground ; (7) Houses occupied by families of a class for which they were not designed and are not suited ; (8) Insanitary houses ; (9) Badly arranged block dwellings ; (10) Badly managed blocks ; (11) Excessive rents ; (12) Crowded homes.

All these over-lap to some extent. The bad condition of old property may have been aggravated by neglect, and neglect have been followed by abuse ; good houses would be wasted on ground which must render them unhealthy ; and inconsiderate management follows naturally on inconsiderate construction ; while bad sanitation and high rentals for the accommodation supplied, are features common to all.

Apart from economic causes, for which no one can be held especially accountable, and administrative legal enactments by which for the moment all are bound, the responsibility for these evils rests either (1) with the owner and his agents, or (2) with the occupier, or (3) with the local authority (including magistrates), or is shared among them.

Remedial agencies may be similarly summed up, as :—(1) Philanthropic or public-spirited work such as that of the Peabody Trust ; efforts which shade off gradually into (2) private enterprise for profit ; and

(3) Municipal enterprise in clearing, or clearing and building. (4) Legislation, such as the obligation to re-house in cases of eviction under Parliamentary Powers. (5) Municipal inspection or interference. (6) Miss Octavia Hill's method; and (7) private endeavours to put the laws in motion, such as that of the Mansion House Council; and lastly, the helpful personal influences exerted by nurses, visiting sisters, and others. We may also count, though of an entirely different character, the recommendations of the Royal Commission. How far short these numerous and varied efforts fall, is only too evident, yet what they do and have done must not be ignored.

The Peabody Trust led the way. Extension in their case (and in that of the Guinness Trust of later date) is secured by the continual investment, in further undertakings of the same kind, of the net income which in a business carried on for profit or on borrowed capital would be paid out as dividend or interest. The need for dwellings has far outrun this rate of increase, but others have entered the field. Public-spirited people are eager to engage in the erection of buildings, and to devote much attention to their design and management; so that, if a moderate return on capital could be fairly assured, large amounts would be forthcoming, were not development in this direction hindered (1) by the great cost of sites where population congregates; (2) by the possibility of municipal competition; and (3) by the pressure of rates everywhere.

Building undertaken by the Peabody or Guinness Trusts, or by such capitalist organizations as Waterlow's, or the Artisans' Dwellings Co., are confined to the construction of 'Block Dwellings,' or of 'Estates,' laid out in working-class houses; with a few instances of something between the two, in the shape of architectural arrangements of rows of houses, in which the original street plan is retained, although provision

is made at the various levels for self-contained dwellings. It is mainly public-spirited enterprise such as this that may be hindered by the fear of municipal competition, and by the exaggerated cost of central sites; while the pressure of rates, as they are now levied, added to the increased cost of construction, is a drag upon every kind of enterprise in building.

But while the possibility of municipal competition may tend to retard all other forms of action, it can also be regarded as replacing them, and many regard this as 'the only way.' That I do not accept this view will appear more definitely later, when I shall submit an alternative programme. I also postpone any reference to the obligations to re-house any section of the population which may be disturbed by compulsory powers of clearance, and pass at once to the attempts made to cure or mitigate the troubles complained of, apart from questions of rebuilding old or erecting new premises.

All the evils which are recapitulated in the first paragraph, have been again and again referred to locally in the preceding volumes of this work; but, before considering cures, I will bring together some of the remarks made regarding these evils, their causes and consequences, by those whose evidence we have taken.

(1) In the case of old property in bad condition it is pointed out that the leasehold system works badly; since in the closing years before the lapse of the lease no repairs are executed and the actual landlords, often men who make a business of acquiring such property, are small rack renters, while the real ultimate owner is powerless. Thus in our notes I find a property bearing locally the title 'Little Hell,' of which the ground owner is stated to be a very well known philanthropic lady. Even when the lease has yet some years to run, if the houses are condemned as insanitary, the temporary possessor is apt to 'botch them up' sufficiently to pass, or he may sell the remainder of the lease to

some one who will do this; but no 'thorough job' is made. The same condition of neglect is also found sometimes when property is bought bit by bit for some ultimate use, as by railways in anticipation of enlargement of their line or of a station. Then in this case also no avoidable expense will be incurred on the doomed houses. If, however, the property when rebuilt is still to be used for dwellings, it is to be remembered that for any complete reconstruction the occupants must leave, and that then a different class will probably come to the improved houses, whether built on the same or an alternative site. Consequently there is little if any immediate and direct advantage to those for whose sake ostensibly the improvements are undertaken: they were used to their old familiar quarters; they knew their neighbours and their neighbours knew them; they might quarrel, but would also help each other. The old haunts can never be reconstituted. Moreover, the rents for the houses as they stood, though nominally very high, would not and could not be strictly collected, and crowding was unchecked.

So much has been said about these miserable places and their occupants in previous volumes that I need not now further describe them. What I would lay stress upon is that improvement for these people in themselves or in their homes, in their characters or mode of life, must be concurrent. To secure this, united action is needed as well as patience, for success can only be attained by the linking together of every form of remedial effort, so that these may support and complement each other.

(2) Of badly built houses and their evil effects much also has been said, but a few direct quotations from our notes may serve to recall and emphasize the views expressed. Of one whole district it is said that it has been 'ruined by bad building, having everything else in its favour;' of other parts, and frequently, that

'much iniquitous building has been allowed;' and shoddy houses are pointed to as the probable 'slums of the future.' In one district, a road of quite recent construction, suffering from the same trouble, is described as 'doomed to rapid decay,' and 'new houses subject to speedy deterioration because badly built' are continually mentioned. Thus, in more detail, we have such statements as: 'houses only up a year, already cracking from roof to front door,' and are told that 'the vestry surveyor condemned all one side of one street and it was rebuilt,' but that 'he seemed to have done nothing since.'

The demoralizing effect of houses such as these on both occupier and owner, is far greater than that of even the worst old property, and they are the despair of the authorities. The initial faults seem irretrievable. Short-sightedness or greed or dishonesty, and breaches of the law, either hidden or flagrant, on the part of builders or those for whom they act; insufficiency, inefficiency, indifference or venality of officials; for these things there is no cure but sternness. If the ultimate evil that results is inevitable, so should be the infliction of punishment. We need to deepen the conviction of the seriousness of the offence even if dishonest or venal action is not involved, and to curtail the possibilities of wrong doing which are open to short-sighted greed on the one hand, or laxity on the other, together with the chances of escape from the retribution that is due. The difficulties of regulation by means of bye-law and inspection are no doubt serious, but by some means they must be overcome, as only thus does it seem possible to check this evil.

(3) As regards mischief that arises from neglect by the owners, we have first to ask, Who is the owner? And the question is partly answered by the complaints made as to the effect of the leasehold system to which I have already referred. It is said that 'assuming that

the attempt to keep in repair is abandoned, the maximum of sub-letting brings the maximum income,' thus constituting a terrible machinery for the distillation of evil. Such is the effect of ownership when no further responsibility is accepted save that of the exaction of rent. The result of disputed ownership, when, sometimes, the occupants come to be tenants at will, is little better; for the houses fall rapidly into the condition in which 'no rent' is balanced by 'no value.' But when effective ownership exists complaints are still frequent; 'the callousness of landlords about repairs the most needed' being spoken of in a general way, while a marked difference is noted according to the character of the ownership. In one case a whole road is spoken of as a disgrace to its owner, whose name the agent would not disclose, and everywhere 'unsatisfactory bits are due to bad landlords.' While on the other hand, of a little court in one of the poorest of neighbourhoods it is remarked that it 'might have been black, but is now being occupied by quiet people long established there.' 'Good patches as well as bad' are to be found in all parts, and, I think, always imply a good landlord, who, by a liberal policy, secures good tenants. An instance is given where half a street belonged to one man and half to another, and the result was manifest in the character of the inhabitants: in the one half, comfortable, in the other, rough and poor; while when 'many own their own houses,' it tends to maintain the good character of a district.

Whilst in a general way 'small landlords,' who are of course residents, have a bad name, the contrast between property owned by absentee and resident landlords on a larger scale is noted as being ordinarily in favour of the latter. But much depends on the agent. In one case the beneficial result of a 'splendid house agent who looked well after his tenants,' is especially mentioned; and we have also examples

pointing in the other direction. In any case, it is the actual owner who should be accounted responsible, and who should receive the credit or discredit for his agent's action, and in more than one case the 'neglect of a huge estate' is given as the cause of endless evils.

(4) Of the destructive ways of the lowest class, innumerable stories are told. 'They don't study their homes.' Anything handy in the way of wood—skirting boards or stair rails, and such superfluities, will be torn down to light a fire. Locks are forced and fastenings wrenched, and it is quite useless to supply such things as balanced window-sashes or roller blinds. If a window pane is broken, paper is pasted over the aperture, or a piece of cardboard is set against it, or a bundle of rags will be stuffed into the hole, if it is large. If put in good order, the house would soon revert to this uncared-for condition. The people would rather leave than amend their ways. Such are the excuses usually made, and it is true that even with the most careful handling, while some may respond, others will brook no interference, but will pass on to make 'a hell of their own' elsewhere. When they are gone things improve, and where they settle down we sometimes have the reverse of the picture, 'one or two rough families coming into a little street and the more respectable leaving in consequence;' shunning—it may be for their children's sake—the bad language and drunkenness that are engrained in the habits of the new comers.

The responsibility of the occupiers for the condition of the houses in which they live is not limited by any means to the lowest class. Quite apart from any question of long tenure or regular payment of rent, the difference between a 'good' and a 'bad' tenant is notorious.

(5) The building of houses with insufficient space is the most insidious form of short-sighted greediness,

since the immediate benefit of squeezing in a few more houses on a given piece of ground is so evident, and the ulterior result, in general, and perhaps continuous, depreciation, so likely to slip out of view. Moreover, so many circumstances need to be considered that it is most difficult to lay down exact rules on the subject. It seems essential that far-reaching schemes for both construction and reconstruction should be formulated, to which all private operations must conform, and then special detailed regulations might be laid down in harmony with the general scheme.

(6) Of the use of damp and rubbish-filled ground for houses, a good deal has been said locally as regards the valleys of the Lea and the Wandle, Plumstead marshes and other districts.

(7) We come now to the houses occupied by a different class to that for which they were designed. This may have been due to a change of fashion—the 'going down,' as it is said, of a neighbourhood; or it may be that the particular houses became discredited because ill-built or placed on insufficient ground; or because they were ill-arranged, or were altogether a miscalculation, and thus did not hit the mark at which they were aimed. The results at best are unsatisfactory, but there is a wide difference between the use that can be made of good old houses deserted by fashion and the jerry-built imitations that have been rejected from the first. For both, however, a well thought-out scheme of adaptation is essential, the sanitary and other difficulties being great. Moreover, the scheme ought to be of general application, as suited to the needs of the neighbourhood. What can be wisely and profitably done where there happens to be only one owner, ought to be equally possible where there are many; and it is only by successful alteration, so that the houses may be made into healthy and convenient homes for whatever class of occupant may be in view,

that the evils of non-adaptation or mal-adaptation can be obviated. Otherwise a process of deterioration sets in to which no bounds can be put: 'Large houses fall into working-class hands, and are let and sub-let, and the street loses caste;' or it may be that the houses, without any proper adaptation, are 'let direct in floors; a fatal plan, a responsible chief tenant being requisite.' In small ways, the need for a line of policy which goes beyond the individual house has been recognised; as with the gardens of squares which, falling into neglect when the inhabitants cannot afford to pay a gardener, are often taken over by the local Council and, to the great advantage of a whole neighbourhood, are opened to the public.

(8) The responsibility for insanitary condition, more than any other, is shared between owner, occupier, and the local authority. It is a matter in which all require to be kept up to the mark. The strings are in the hands of the public authority, but the public must themselves see that they are kept taut. Every side of the housing question touches on health, and in health we have the true test of failure or success. This is our gauge, and the statistics of disease and death make it available.

(9) (10) The construction of 'Model' block dwellings has figured as a cure. In this way more families, it was reasonably claimed, might find house room on the same area and under far more healthful and advantageous conditions, and it cannot be denied that these results have been accomplished; but in various directions limitations have been reached. It is not only that philanthropic or other private efforts are discounted by municipal action, and that the increase of population is never overtaken, but also that such dwellings do not suit all localities, nor every one in any locality, and that unless very well arranged and carefully managed they bring in their

train a variety of new evils. This subject has been dealt with at length in a previous volume, and I need only add a few quotations from our present notes bearing on questions of construction or management, or on the general claims of this class of building to favour. The extracts given refer for the most part to the drawbacks of these block dwellings, of which however London offers examples of every kind, from those which are a scandal and a disgrace to those which are perhaps as admirable as such dwellings can ever be.

Block buildings are said to be 'better than slums—that is all.' 'The worst of them have dark stairs without gates, of which sleeping places are made.' The condition of such stairs at night is often a scandal, on which many unreserved comments are made: 'The buildings are not very nice; one stumbles on people sleeping on the stairs,' says one witness, speaking with great moderation. Still it is said 'blocks are much better than tenement houses; the restrictions make people decent.' 'If the occupants can't pay they have to go.' There are, however, some blocks in which this rule is reversed: 'Buildings quite unfit for habitation, but in which the rent is seldom paid.' The importance of the choice of caretaker is dwelt upon: 'The character of buildings depends on the character of the superintendent; a strong man will either keep, or turn, bad people out, and exercise an educational influence.' 'Owners who put in strong caretakers do more,' says one, 'than all the churches and missions.' 'Life in buildings depends for improvement on management and caretaker, otherwise a hell.' Some blocks are described as the 'worst of all' the housing accommodation provided. Apart from the question of management the plan of construction goes for much. Many are 'dull and dismal, with little air space between the blocks,' and (it is added) 'no flower boxes in the windows, such as rejoice the eye and show some care

for home even in the lowest courts.' 'Gloomy models' (says one) 'are the most monstrous substitute for home.' Those built by a quasi-philanthropic company are described as 'amongst the roughest,' while others that have been more liberally arranged so as to yield 'greater privacy and a sense of propriety,' are very popular. In more than one instance, dwellings not structurally ill-arranged, had acquired a bad name, but had, under more careful management, retrieved the position. It is remarked that in these dwellings there is no public opinion, whereas it is not so in the courts. It is this want that good management has to supply.

At this point I would refer to the work of Miss Octavia Hill, and those who, like Miss Cons, have been trained by her or inspired by her example. It is not to philanthropic sentiment that Miss Hill appeals, but to duty; to the just and reasonable obligations of property, the holding of which involves directly very serious consequences to the lives of others. The principles which she adopts are economically sound. This cannot be too strongly insisted upon. Each party gains: the occupier, better conditions of life; the owner, a sounder and more solid investment, worth a greater number of years' purchase of the net income; whilst the public secure an 'unearned increment' in the improvement of health and morals and the lightening in numerous ways of municipal and other charges. To carry out these principles it is necessary to take trouble; an easy going attitude is inadmissible, but, if enough care is taken, their adoption ensures financial success.

Stated shortly, the plan is to make use of and improve the personal relations that can be based on the collecting of rent, by fully recognising the duties of the landlord to the tenant while insisting on the performance of the latter's obligations. On the one hand

the premises occupied must be maintained in proper tenantable order and grievances remedied; while on the other hand the rent must be paid punctually, moral order sustained, and no wilful or careless damage done. The insistence on the one set of duties must be accompanied by the performance of the other set, and mutual respect should result. Considerate and tactful personal relations are essential, and the use in the last resort of the power to evict. But success when attained is complete. Not only is the economic footing sound; the rent honestly earned, the accommodation honestly occupied, and the comfort of the neighbours considered; but the business relation on which all is based gradually becomes humanized. And then more will follow. Good as well as evil can take root, and having taken root will grow and spread. The performance of duty on both sides engenders respect, and respect, leading to friendly feelings, will in the end unlock those finer possibilities of give and take in life, out of which we mortals weave the shining robe of happiness.

The attainment of this ideal depends on the training of educated women as rent collectors, and on careful superintendence; for this work, like nursing, is best done by women, and cannot, any more than nursing, be carried on by amateurs. It must be done thoroughly and well; and it is essential that the sympathy and confidence of property owners should be secured and retained. In these directions much has been accomplished in the thirty-nine years which have elapsed since Miss Hill made her first investment in tenement property. In these years she has herself worked out her great idea, and enrolled her name on the calendar of those whose noble lives serve more than their time and generation. That which she has originated no longer depends on herself alone. In various ways the system is spreading, and likely to

spread, bringing with it everywhere a higher standard of aim ; but it is much to be desired that the perpetuation of Miss Hill's own special work should be by some means secured, to be maintained as a permanent training ground and institute, to which neophytes would come to learn their business, from which trained women might be sent out to assume independent spheres of action, and by which the experience gained would be preserved, as is now the case under their present leader's guidance.

Much may be hoped from the diffusion of these principles and the spread of the system, for if widely enough adopted, a standard would be established of the utmost value to local administration in its task of compulsion as regards health and decency.

Of the evils which we began by enumerating we have now considered all except the more general ones of excessive rents and crowding. In allotting responsibility, we have spoken of owner and occupier, and there remains the local authority with its duties of inspection and interference according to law, and beyond these, optional powers of clearing congested sites, and itself undertaking building on the vacated ground or elsewhere. We will now take up these remaining points :—

(11) There are few parts of London, especially of those occupied by the working and lower-middle classes, in which rents are not rising. The needs of the people for houses are not adequately met. From Outer-South London we have such statements as 'high and rising rent, a rise at each fresh tenancy ;' 'Rents have risen from 7*s* 6*d* to 9*s* 6*d* in the last five years ;' and 'Peckham is becoming poorer owing to increased rents driving better class workers away.' From a more central part comes, 'Housing difficulty insuperable, rents enormous, large single rooms 15*s* to 17*s*,' but it is said

that 'high rents are due partly to the non-payment of arrears.' 'Foreigners,' it is asserted, 'will pay anything to get in,' and 'bad folk are crowding the good out.' 'Rents not low, but collection irregular,' comes from further North. In East London, where there is little migration and steadily increasing pressure, houses are said to be 'let before they are empty, and people daren't move;' while in the extension of West London, 'notwithstanding all the building, the poorer streets are becoming crowded,' and in South West London it is again said, 'none dare quit.' It may happen that a couple begin comfortably with two rooms, and then, as children come, cannot afford to move or cannot mend matters by moving. In another part of London the increase of rents since the enforcement of the Health Acts is specially noted, and the consequent driving of the people into cheaper districts. It is hardly necessary to trouble the reader with more quotations on this subject. The conditions may be slowly changing for the better, but at present the difficulty is extreme and insistent. Those who can afford it move out, and those who cannot escape, crowd in. 'Property becomes more profitable in a working-class than in a middle-class district,' and even more profitable still when none but the poor are left as residents. By a strange perversion, as rents rise in the more central districts, the better off are more likely to be driven away, while the poor remain.

(12) The pressure falls particularly heavily on families where there are many children. Such often 'cannot obtain respectable quarters, and then become degraded by their surroundings.' This is mentioned often. 'It is almost impossible to find room, and when people have to move they roam about like hunted dogs.' The Guardians are often appealed to for accommodation. Special instances of over-crowding appear frequently on our notes, such as 'Father, mother, and

eight children in one room.' In another instance, 'Man and wife, two sons, ages twenty-seven and twenty-one, and two daughters, ages twenty-one and eighteen,' all living in one room. Again, an old woman, her daughter and grandson, and in two other cases, man, wife, and five children occupied one room. Such instances are by no means extreme or unusual.

With single people 'Box and Cox' arrangements are not unheard of. 'Is it right,' a decent woman said (speaking to a deaconess), 'that I should have to sleep in a bed that a man sleeps in during the day?' 'Crowding,' says one of the clergy, 'is the chief obstacle to spiritual influence. Decency, modesty, cleanliness, &c., are made impossible, but,' he adds, 'so full are the people of natural virtue, that with better housing there would be no difficulty.' 'Drink is fostered by bad houses.' 'Crowded homes send men to the public-house.' 'Crowding the main cause of drink and vice.' 'Incest is common resulting from over-crowding.' 'Religion has failed, education has done something, but good homes lack.' 'The root of evil is deficient house accommodation.' These are but a few out of many expressions of opinion that could be cited.

We have ourselves seen 'little one room domiciles fitted up in out-houses' and, the smallest abode of all, an eight-foot square tin shanty occupied by a coster. 'Cellars, too, are used as sleeping rooms, despite the law,' which it is alleged is the more difficult to enforce because it is frequently broken by the rich in the accommodation of their servants.

Foreigners, it is said, 'minimise crowding so far as possible, by living in the street,' and most poor children eat their food as well as play their games there. Not infrequently those whose rooms are stifling and uncleanly practically live out of doors in hot weather, in out of the way streets and courts, and excepting

in very cold or wet weather, the destitute class, covered with vermin, prefer to sleep out, even though they may have the price of a night's lodging on them. If without any means, they are liable to be 'run in,' but if they possess the requisite pence they can only be 'moved on' by the police from doorstep to doorstep, and finally are often left in peace in some obscure spot till morning. More horrible still, it is said that people will take refuge for the night in, and even make a dwelling place of, caverns hollowed in the dust heaps. Those who roam the streets at night get their sleep in the parks or elsewhere during the day.

Passing now to the local authority, the first point to notice is the remarkable development that has taken place during the period of our inquiry. The London County Council, established in 1888, has deservedly won the great position it now holds; and many of the separate boroughs into which the same area is divided and which were constituted ten years later, already show considerable vitality; while the old vestries, which have been turned into or absorbed by the Borough Councils, have experienced a double transformation, having previously been democratized out of all recognition.

The history of Local Government in London promises to make an interesting chapter of some future book, but it cannot be written yet. In the preceding volumes I have merely tried to reflect current opinion as expressed to us by those who looked to the local authority with hope or fear, regarding its action with approval or with condemnation. And as to the larger sphere of action of the London County Council, hardly anything has been said. But in what I have yet to say the versatile energy of this central power in London life will be freely assumed.

It is hardly necessary to discriminate between this

and that local authority. All stand upon a democratic basis. The people are practically their own masters, free to tax and free to spend. It would be folly to suppose that the powers that have been given will not be exercised. It is probable that a good deal of money will be spent, and that experiments of all kinds will be tried ; but it would also seem almost certain that high rates will still prove an effective drag ; that after any fit of extravagance, or yet more of incompetence or folly, those who can promise the ratepayer 'retrenchment and economy' will succeed at the polls, and that the social balance between progress and reaction, or recklessness and prudence will be maintained.

Municipalities and other local bodies will have to learn by experience the limits of successful action, and it may be hoped that rules of general application will gradually emerge. Meanwhile, the fetters in which they have to dance, of Parliamentary sanction and the control of the Local Government Board, are by them found heavy enough.

Something has been done by more effective administration to introduce a higher standard of life, especially as regards crowding. 'Overcrowding,' says one of our witnesses, 'is the great cause of degeneracy, but there is less of it than formerly, owing to a higher standard of requirement,' and we have seen that this is borne out by the census statistics, quoted on page 5. But in spite of this general improvement the evil has become worse in places, and of these, naturally, one hears most. In one street in Southwark where there are 'many single room tenements,' it is said that there are eight hundred people living in thirty-six houses. 'There is a tendency, in this neighbourhood' (we are told) 'to sub-divide two-room holdings into single rooms, under a resident landlady.' And throughout London, wherever clearances have been made, things become

worse in the surrounding streets. This difficulty is inherent in the whole problem.

Manifestly there can be no cure that does not include expansion. Given freedom to expand, there would quickly be a great change. The local bodies do not lack energy; their medical officers are keen on their work, taking a professional pride in it; public opinion is fairly aroused. But the difficulties in the way are insurmountable, or at any rate the road has not been found. Sanitary authorities dare not enforce the law stringently, knowing that if they evicted the people, many could not obtain house room. 'Much agitation about housing, but appear helpless. Find they could not build to let cottages probably under three shillings a room, nor any cheaper in blocks,' was said of one of the vestries. When rebuilding is undertaken 'the public are told that the class turned out will be re-housed, but the authorities know perfectly well that they will not be. They don't want such accommodation, and would not take it if offered, and, if they did, it would only end in the new buildings being spoiled.' In another quarter it is said, 'the displaced people have the first offer, but are got rid of as soon as may be.' And again, 'the people turned out did not come; their places were filled by railway men and police.' Still, the evicted find new quarters somewhere, and even if they tend to make a new slum there, may gain something: 'The forcible process of scattering is salutary;' 'Those that come are bettered by the mere fact of change;' 'Bring the poor to the light and you improve them.' I fear, however, that the remark it is also true that 'it is harder for bad to become better than for good to become worse,' and, in any case, 'housing is not solved by moving people on.' Moreover, the people most concerned are ill pleased. It is regarded as 'a ——— shame to pull down the houses of the poor.' 'Going

to turn us out of our houses, are you? You'll have to find us some others if you do;' but it is just this that it is so difficult to compass.

Thus the benefit of such improvements is indirect and uncertain, while the cost is enormous. Schemes are made and laid aside, or hung up during discussions between the Borough Councils and the L. C. C. as to sharing the cost, or with the Local Government Board on the numbers to be rehoused and where. Years perhaps elapse, and meanwhile every evil is aggravated; a fresh excuse is provided for postponing all repairs, and speculation is rife, 'much money being invested in such sites in anticipation of clearance,' since compulsory powers of purchase are held even in these cases to call for the fullest compensation. Clearly the way out of this difficulty has not been found.

The suggestions I have to make in the direction of securing greater freedom of expansion will appear in the next section, but before closing this one I will add a few quotations showing the kind of houses that are most in demand.

Peabody or other block dwellings of the better kind, 'though prison-like, are always full, and have generally a "waiting list."' But for this they must be well situated. One block set apart for women, young and old, reports 'no rooms to let;' it also has its waiting list, as indeed have many others. Such buildings may be 'a necessary evil,' but they undoubtedly supply a want. They are, however, expensive to build, and the rents are unavoidably rather high. The Guinness blocks also fill a place. Suitable sites have been selected, and the management has sought to let at lower rents than others and retain the buildings for a poorer class, this being the philanthropic intention of the Trust. So far it seems to have been accomplished successfully. Those who inhabit these buildings are spoken of as 'the quiet

poor;' 'poor, but very quiet, hard-working and respectable;' 'policemen are not included, being regarded as too well off;' 'tenants once in, never leave.' To maintain exactly the level aimed at would not seem possible; to approach to it must require very skilful management. It is a narrow edge on which to walk, and the Trustees do not escape criticism on the score either of asking too much or giving too little.

But such buildings (Peabody, Guinness or others) rather express the best that *can* be done for the poorer people who crowd in towards Central London than what they themselves desire. Far removed, indeed almost piteously so, are the people's own ideals of 'small cottages so much sought and so hard to find,' and, when found, 'so quickly snapped up.' The future of a new district, it is truly said, 'depends on the style of the houses built. Small good houses are needed;' in almost all parts of London there is 'a crying demand for small houses for the working classes;' 'small, two-storeyed houses, the kind wanted more and more;' everywhere 'the increasing demand for good two-storeyed cottages' is reiterated; but each floor may be a home: 'a decent working man does not mind having one other family in the house.'

The demand is for new houses, not old. There are those who will only live in new houses, and move when the street becomes 'old'—move 'simply to change their house and start fresh painted.' 'Young married people, who, as soon as the brass handle is tarnished, move elsewhere.' From one district we hear that 'tenants come from all parts of London, drawn by the fact that suitable houses are to be had,' these being 'two-storeyed houses of newest style arranged for two families;' affording 'small flats of four rooms fitted up with all conveniences.' 'All my young people are taking these,' says a Congregationalist minister, and

adds that they are 'lighted up by the new surroundings;' and even themselves 'acquire a dainty look.'

Put baldly, 'lower buildings and wider streets' are the things needed, and instead the people are offered 'depressing streets, dark and narrow,' or 'tall, prison-like dwellings.' But their tastes carry them on a good deal further. Not only is much more expected from the builder than formerly in house fittings, but the demand for 'artistic cottages' is noted, and gardens are the pride of those who possess them: 'houses blessed with gardens—a wonderful influence.' 'Houses with good gardens at back; seldom empty, and hard to get; 'Houses with porches creeper-covered eagerly tenanted.' There are, however, limitations; prudence and the pressure of city life step in. Gardens must not be larger than can be tended without hired help, or, if the rent that can be afforded is insufficient for both, an extra room may be preferred.

I wish I could rouse in the minds of speculative builders a sense of the money value that lies in individuality, with its power of attracting the eye, rooting the affections, and arousing pride in house and home. Then would they seek to use, in place of sedulously destroying, every natural feature of beauty, and take thought to add others. A slightly greater width of garden on the sunny side, whether front or back, may make all the difference; a single tree left standing can glorify a whole street. Fresh painting and papering within, is not the highest ideal; its charm passes; the other gathers force as the years go by.

§ 7

EXPANSION

It would be rash to assume that the population of London must continue to multiply at the rate shown for many decades, and even centuries, past; but it would be still more rash to say it could not, or would not, do so. It seems, at any rate, certain, that if our national prosperity is maintained, London will share in it, and her growth continue. Whether this be within or without the present county boundary is immaterial in proportion as that boundary is unreal. In recent years the increase of the outside population has disguised the facts of growth, but it will not be long before a 'Greater London' will have to be reckoned with for administrative purposes. Fresh links of brick and mortar are being constantly made; the intervening spaces tend to fill up: and suddenly we shall become aware that the centre of our spider's web of streets plays its part not to four or five, but to seven or eight, or more, millions of people, who will, in reality if not in name, be citizens of London; coming and going, pressing in and pressing out, serving and being served by the same large centres of industrial and social life.

The first result of the development which we have seen is pressure at the centre. This is being succeeded by movement in an outward direction; but this natural relief is restricted and hindered in many ways; and as a consequence the life of cities suffers from congestion.

In all other departments of life the methods of transit have, during the nineteenth century, been quickened nearly tenfold and increased a hundred-fold. But in cities, and especially in the more ancient, the past hangs round us, and has made progress very slow.

Let anyone now design a place of residence for four or five million inhabitants, and how greatly it would differ in plan and structure from London! The improved methods for the application of mechanical force now available, are, as compared to steam traction, of very recent date, and even now are only year by year becoming perfected. At every point we have yet much to learn, and we are still timid; but great possibilities clearly lie before us in the reorganization of urban life within itself, as well as in its relations with the surrounding country and with the (still) wide world beyond. It is to these possibilities that I desire to draw attention in connection with the comfort and welfare of the people of London, and especially in regard to their house accommodation.

Of the insufficiency, badness and dearness of the housing accommodation available in many parts of London, I need not say anything more. It would be difficult to exaggerate the facts. The pressure is due to four ultimate causes. Of these the first two are the increase of population from excess of births over deaths, and from excess of influx over efflux; a third is the demand for space to accommodate buildings other than dwelling houses, or for the widening of railway lines or of streets to meet increase of traffic; while the fourth follows the requirements of a higher personal and official standard of life and health, resenting and forbidding the overcrowding of the existing houses, or the occupation of cellars as dwellings.

It may be noted that the increase of population in urban centres (however objectionable in some of its aspects), and the concurrent need of space for industrial purposes or civic development, are the results of, and factors in, general prosperity; not the congestion of decadence or of economic disaster; while pressure arising from the attempt to introduce and enforce a higher standard of life among the poor is mainly due

to the effect on our minds of the contrast between national prosperity and the miserable and unhealthy conditions in which many of our people live. It may therefore, I think, be fairly contended, that as the causes of pressure are resultants of prosperity, there can be no permanent or absolute economic difficulty in dealing with the inter-connected evils of over-crowding. On the contrary, I hope to be able to show that freer expansion, while mitigating these evils, would redound to the general prosperity.

The absorption of space for industrial purposes is not necessarily an increasing factor in city areas, and, at their centres, as regards most forms of labour, it is even a decreasing one. The larger amount of ground available in the suburbs or in suitable country districts, coupled with lower rents, attracts factories as well as residents. The ready supply of labour is one great advantage possessed by urban centres, and as to this the effect of easier communication will cut both ways. The more quickly and cheaply the workmen can travel, and the greater the distance from their work at which they can make their homes, the more possible, as well as the less necessary, it will be to move the industry. Adjustment will become more free on both sides. If an industry is once firmly established in a particular spot, it may be easier to bring the labour to it than to move it to quarters more convenient for residence; but industry adapts itself to circumstances. So far as a trade is immovable, the wages paid will be such as this circumstance makes necessary. There are no hard and fast limits to the conditions of life and labour; at any one moment they imply a balance, but if that balance is upset, another will be established. From day to day the balance is continually changing, though perhaps imperceptibly, and cheap and speedy means of locomotion would do much to facilitate these adjustments.

The space for manufactures, which, if necessary, can be moved elsewhere, is, however, not the main requirement ; but rather the room needed for the arrangement of transit and distribution, such as railways and warehouses ; and for the supply of the daily wants of life and its organization at the centres of activity : shops and eating houses, and offices for business of every kind. Premises used for such purposes, even now, occupy more space than all the factories ; they increase every day, and yet are never found sufficient for their work, which is essential to the very life of London.

The difficulties in the way of improving the means of communication, arising from the enormous value of land in the central and older parts of London, and from ancient plans of construction, become less important as London increases ; the problem is simplified as the possibilities of its solution become wider. Not only does the expense needed for alterations at the centre, bear a smaller proportion to the whole, but bolder engineering expedients can be adopted. We see this exemplified in the construction of 'tube' railways and the suggestion of sub-surface tramways, or special mono-rail passenger lines overhead, capable of covering forty miles in twenty minutes. Without doubt the arrangement and uses of the streets will tend to be further specialized. Street traffic may be regulated, or new avenues made, for the sake of swift motor cars. By these changes the pedestrian will gain. Side avenues will become quieter and market streets will be respected ; as Lombard Street and Throgmorton Street practically are, and as Bond Street ought to be ; as well as the crowded markets of the poor, where already by reason of the crowd no vehicle can pass except at foot-pace.

In our survey of London we have watched the forces which, through increasing pressure at the centre, and in other ways, tend to drive or draw the resident

population outwards in every direction, and have found curious resemblances between opposite sides or corners of the social map. In some places this centrifugal action has seemed to proceed by bounds, overleaping the intervening space ; but this is rarely the case except with the rich, who when they move are not deterred by distance from seeking the most advantageous spot for a new home, or with the very lowest class who, ejected and rejected, sometimes make one flight to some outlying district where, in the disadvantages it offers to others, they can find their miserable advantage: happy if permitted to create a new slum undisturbed. More generally the movement takes place gradually from ring to ring, accompanied by a slow change of class. But the advance on new ground shows a noticeable tendency to shoot out tongues, like the Sun's corona ; the intervals between being filled up later. These tongues follow the 'lie of the land' and the facilities offered for speculation in building ; but the more important cause and key of explanation is always found in the available means of communication, be it tramcar or a good highway adapted as an omnibus road, or the local service of a railway line. It is this fact, coupled with the present palpable inadequacy of facilities of locomotion in London, that leads me to look to their extension, and to improvement in the speed and cheapening in the cost of travel, as a first and essential step towards the solution of the housing problem in London. I am glad to know that public opinion is now roused on this subject, and I hope that we may shortly see the establishment of an authority competent to deal with this matter, as an outcome of the Royal Commission recently appointed. The object of this authority, I conceive, will be to study and report to Parliament on the needs of the public, and on all proposals made to meet these needs, whether by Municipalities or by private capitalists ; so that if

possible a complete and harmonious scheme may be framed, from which all districts and all classes alike may benefit. I do not anticipate that such an authority, if appointed, would be empowered to take action itself, since that, I assume (apart from private enterprise), would lie with the rating authorities; but it would be in a position to advise Parliament on the subject; paving the way for such action as was needed. Holding a quasi-judicial position, it would take account and give due weight to the sectional views of different localities; and finally, after endeavouring to harmonize them, would report when and where sectional interests must be compelled to give way. For some such authoritative guidance there is pressing need.

Before further considering this question of locomotion, let us first glance again at the other more direct methods of dealing with the difficulties of housing to which reference has been made in the preceding section. They are :—

(1) Regulations against over-crowding, &c.

(2) The acquisition by the authorities of special areas for demolition and reconstruction.

(3) The obligation enforced upon those who obtain Parliamentary powers for acquiring sites for industrial, municipal, or other private or public purpose (even if it be for the destruction of over-crowded and insanitary property), to 're-house' those whose homes are disturbed, or at any rate a proportionate number of people, in or near the same neighbourhood.

(4) The acquisition by Municipalities or County Council of vacant land for the construction of suitable dwellings.

It is not too much to say that the action taken so far in London in any of these directions has been very half-hearted. Confidence is lacking; public opinion unconvinced. It is felt to be impossible to press regulations against over-crowding when other house

room is not available, and very difficult to reform sanitary conditions when landlord and tenant are in league to 'let well alone' (as they regard it). Thus it is just where things are worst that it is most difficult to amend them by direct attack. Schemes for demolition and reconstruction, great and small, have proved, as we have seen, in many ways unsatisfactory. A nuisance is indeed removed, but at a very great cost, largely owing to the terms of compensation for compulsory purchase, and to the obligation to re-house. Good houses are built only to be occupied by a superior class; the evicted poor crowd in elsewhere. Though formulated with the best intentions, the re-housing clauses attached to Parliamentary powers of purchase have proved of doubtful benefit, or rather in some respects certainly injurious. It rarely happens that such powers are needed, except for general public purposes, or for railway extensions which, if the opportunity were seized to stipulate for an improved local service of trains, ought rather to be encouraged than hampered. Moreover, it is to be noted that so far as new dwellings are provided, the legal obligation is generally, and perhaps unavoidably, met by building high blocks, an evasion rather than a cure of the problem at issue.

Finally, the public acquisition of land, beyond the London boundary, for the purpose of supplying working-class houses at reasonable rents, almost necessitates the provision of improved means of communication with what becomes a kind of city colony. The alternative, and, as I think, better plan would be to improve the facilities of locomotion generally, or wherever likely to be most useful, without entering upon any public speculation in land or houses.

In support of the policy of purchase, it is pointed out that with better means of communication, and as the population spreads, the value of the ground will

certainly rise ; and that to provide solely the means of communication is to throw away this advantage. But a far wider policy is called for. The rise in value will not be limited to the patch bought, nor can the aims of improved locomotion consider anything less than the wants of the whole community. This larger policy may be found in a change in the incidence of rating, a change which would be of great importance in connection with any large extension of the means of locomotion, carried out, as that would have to be, partly at the risk of the community, and I would ask the patience of my readers while I develop this proposal.

For the moment, in attempting to estimate the possibilities of spreading the present population sufficiently to lighten the difficulties of the sanitary authorities, as well as to provide satisfactorily for future increase, I propose to ignore local divisions and treat London and the immediately surrounding districts as a unit.

We have not to create, or even arouse, the forces which tend to expansion ; we only have to give them play, and then to make use of them ; guiding them towards the desired end, and averting, so far as may be, concurrent evils. To attain the expansion required it is necessary that houses should be built as well as the means of communication provided ; and that the charges should not be prohibitive. The limiting conditions are, therefore, time and cost of travel, and rent. It is said that the poorer classes *must* live near their work ; that under no conceivable system can they afford either the time or the money for daily journeys. There is a basis of truth in the statement, though perhaps not so much as is supposed. But however immovable the very poor may be, the same rule does not apply to men of settled employment, whose new

homes (even now) are being rapidly built on all sides of London, as fast as the means of communication are extended. And the outward movement of one class makes room for the incoming of another; since those who leave, vacate houses which others gladly occupy. Such shiftings involve no hardship to a population which is continually on the move. Sometimes, the change may take people at once from centre to circumference, but far more often, as I have said, the movement is from belt to belt, some in each section finding it convenient, when seeking a new home, to take up their residence just one stage further on. If the impulse comes from above, improvement naturally results, a better home than the previous one becoming available for each man in turn, and not least for the man whose old home is only fit for destruction. Under these conditions the people will move if only they are given the chance to do so.

Nor is there any difficulty from the engineering point of view in providing London with a thorough system of surface and sub-surface lines of communication, if sufficient thought be given to the plan as a whole, and provided no individual line is allowed which does not conform to the general interest.

It is, perhaps, most probable that there will be four distinct systems to cover the ground :—

(1) The Metropolitan and District Underground Railways, with their surface connections with the suburbs and main railway lines in all directions. (Private enterprise.)

(2) Tube railways arranged, perhaps as figures of eight, with their main centres where the lines would intersect at various levels at the Bank. (Probably private enterprise.)

(3) Surface and sub-surface tramways, crossing the Thames, and extending in all directions, being taken, when necessary, beneath the surface in the central parts

to avoid blocks in the street traffic. (Owned and managed by the London County Council.)

(4) Motor omnibuses, to facilitate which the street traffic would have to be carefully regulated.

It is very much to be desired that each of these systems should be so far unified as to admit of a single maximum (if not also minimum) fare for all distances and compound journeys on any other system. A low and, so far as practicable, a uniform fare, would probably be the most profitable, as well as the most convenient, plan, and whether the most profitable or not, a simple low-priced scale might well be stipulated in return for privileges granted.

In some such ways the public could be accommodated, but it is essential that lines should be projected and made, sometimes slightly in advance of the traffic, and that no district should be neglected. All the lines cannot be equally paying concerns. If in any case the conditions hinder private enterprise from undertaking the work; some public authority must step in. The interest of the community in this matter is too serious to be sacrificed, and actual loss may probably be avoided by linking profitable with unprofitable, though not less necessary, branches.

Worked on an extended scale, the cost of travel need not be prohibitive; nor will the time occupied in travel be any difficulty. It does not solely, or even mainly, depend on the pace at which the vehicles travel. In the avoidance of delay, frequency of departure and certainty of connections are even more important. In these ways, as well as by increasing speed, the time measure of distance in London might easily be halved. Mr. H. G. Wells, in his clever *Anticipations* (a book to which I owe acknowledgments), demonstrates the effect that the possibilities of communication have had on human relationships and the history of civilization; and, as to city life, suggests that about an hour is the

outside limit of time that any man will be content to spend daily in travelling to or from his work; and that, consequently, the distance that may be covered in about that time, from centre to circumference, sets bounds to every city's satisfactory growth. How great the area that could be covered if we recognise this as the time limit, even in the present stage of mechanical science, as applied to locomotion, is abundantly clear. At the present time London's urgent need is the removal of the trammels that now restrict movement and development.

Then, as to rent. It is, to me, inconceivable that without private enterprise any agency should be able to supply the houses needed. If this is so the rents must be fairly remunerative, but there is no reason for supposing that adequate rents would not be obtained. As it is, wherever good means of communication are available houses spring up, but the larger part of the pecuniary advantage of improved locomotion goes to the owners of existing houses, or of land not yet built upon. If, however, there were increased competition in the supply of houses consequent on the opening up of building sites over the whole circle of Greater London, this tendency would be very much less marked, and it could, if desirable, be met by some readjustment in the incidence of rating.

What is possible in this last direction, with the view of facilitating and encouraging enterprise in building, I leave to the end. The changes I shall advocate in that respect may not be essential, but would be very helpful to the scheme of expansion which, with or without any change in the levying of rates, I put forward as the only practicable way of overcoming the difficulties of housing in London.

There are some who would limit the collective interference of the community to the enforcement of a certain

standard of life as to crowding and sanitation, leaving locomotion as well as building to private enterprise, regulated and controlled by municipal by-laws, or by restrictions imposed by Parliament when special powers are required. I do not myself think that the evils of a congested city population, aggravated and engrained as they are by influences from the past, could ever be cured on these lines, but to those who hold the opposite opinion, or who think that by interference we may cause greater evils than we cure, I would point out that the proposals I make as regards means of locomotion, interfere with private enterprise only in a direction in which even now no step can be taken without powers granted by Parliament, and in which some kind of monopoly is inevitable. As a rule, however, the necessity for intervention is not questioned ; on this subject the doctrine of *laissez faire* has few supporters. It is only debated in what way or ways the public authorities should interfere.

The futility of municipal action for the direct supply of dwellings on the scale hitherto adopted, is patent, and the dangers of this course, if pursued far, are very serious. By confining the corporate efforts of the community to the task of making the means of communication comprehensive and adequate and efficient, private enterprise would be encouraged to provide all the houses needed, and to private enterprise the local authorities would do well to relinquish that portion of the tremendous task of re-organization and reconstruction on which the welfare of the people of London depends.

To the adverse influence of the present system of rating on building enterprise I would now call attention.

The system of collecting rates on the total annual value of real estate, taking land and buildings together,

dates from long ago, before commerce took the lead of agriculture, and urban of rural interests, in England. When for the advantage of the consumer, and in the interest of the towns and of trade, the food of the people was relieved of a large part of the taxation it had borne, it seems to have been overlooked, or not fully foreseen, that the houses the people lived in were, or would come to be, even more heavily taxed than their food had ever been, and that free internal development would be hindered by the peculiar incidence of this burthen.

It is not the amount levied, but the plan of assessment, that does the mischief. An alternative and far better system would have been to have based the assessment for any local purposes entirely on 'site values,' that is, on the value of the land, for any economic purpose whatsoever for which it may rightly serve, whether built on or not and irrespective of the value of such buildings as may be put upon it. This plan is applicable to rural as well as urban property, and desirable for both, but it is perhaps as connected with urban conditions that the change would be of most importance, and it is this aspect of it alone with which I here deal. It is no question of town *versus* country, or rich *versus* poor, nor of one class against another. It is a question of economic policy, the merits of which go far beyond the facilitation of urban expansion ; but it concerns in an especial manner the improvement of the people's homes.

Rates in London (1901-2) may be taken as about 6*s* 8*d* in the £. Thus, if we ignore the allowance made by the rating authorities to cover repairs, according to the terms of the lease, they add one-third to the rental paid by the occupier, or, put it another way, they reduce by one-fourth the amount receivable by the owner. Of the total annual value, after allowing for repairs,

the owner thus receives three-fourths and the rate-collector one-fourth. If the value is increased or decreased the same proportion holds, and as the tax is levied on the total value of land and buildings together, the discouragement to improvement is manifest, the produce of any fresh capital invested being taxed twenty-five per cent. But if the same total sum were levied on the basis of site value alone, it would not have this effect, and owners would not be penalised, as they now are, by extra rating if they developed their property by putting valuable and useful buildings on it.

For those who are not already familiar with the subject, I will try to make clear the line of argument adopted and the proposals that are founded on it. The change advocated is an adjustment as to the incidence of taxation between various properties, in accordance with the proportionate value represented in each case by land and buildings respectively. Some property-holders would suffer while others would gain. It is in itself undesirable that such dislocations should be caused by enactment. This disadvantage would have to be reduced to the minimum possible and then weighed against the general advantage secured. No attack on property in general is involved ; nor is any fresh source of revenue secured. Those who would seek to turn the proposal in either of these directions do it dis-service.

The proposal owes something to the theories of Henry George, but has suffered in the public mind by being associated with anything so visionary, and still more from a similar association with Socialistic attacks on private property in general. But with these it has nothing in common. It is not even a new tax, but only a rearrangment of an old one. It is not likely that the total amount to be raised will be any less, but my proposal is not made in order to

facilitate any increase in the burthens on real estate. The object is that the burthens may press less onerously and less injuriously than is now the case.

In London about two-thirds of the rates apply uniformly to the whole county, while one-third varies locally. The county rates cover the widest divergence in proportion between site and structural values in different properties, and thus afford the most marked example. Take the case of a county rate amounting to 1*s* in the £. on the total value as now assessed. Then, if in some parts the site value were three-fifths of the whole or more; if in others it fell as low as one-fifth or less, with every grade between, and, if the assessment were changed to one based on sites only, the same amount would be raised by a rate of 3*s* in the £. The readjustment might in such a case work out roughly in three divisions as follows :—

PRESENT ASSESSMENT (*based on Value of Site and Buildings taken together*).

A	£150	(taken as representing)	3-15ths	(of total metropolitan rateable value)	at 1*s*,	£7. 10*s*
B	£350	,,	7-15ths	,,	,,	£17. 10*s*
C	£250	,,	5-15ths	,,	,,	£12. 10*s*
	£750		15-15ths			£37. 10*s*

SUGGESTED ASSESSMENT (*based on Site Value only*).

A	£80	(site value taken as representing)	3-15ths	(of total rateable value	at 3*s*,	£12
B	£120	,,	7-15ths	,,	,,	£18
C	£50	,,	5-15ths	,,	,,	£7. 10*s*
	£250		15-15ths			£37. 10*s*

The various kinds of property would all fall under these general heads, and the total multiplied into millions would retain the same proportion, which, however, does not pretend to be more than the roughest suggestion of an estimate for London. Properties in the A division would incur more rates

in the proportion of £7. 10s to £12, and properties in the C division would practically reverse this, while the yet larger number of properties of the B division would be hardly affected.

And if the adjustment on the new basis were applied, as it should be, not only to county rates but to the whole of the rating, the same principle would hold, but with less divergence in results, in accordance with the more homogeneous character of smaller areas.

Subject to this and some other incidental modifications, all in the direction of minimizing the differences, there would be a transfer of rateable liability all over London from the C class to the A class, or from the less developed to the more completely developed parts, while the position of the middle section would be but little altered.

We may now consider the effect which this and the changed incidence of rating generally would have, first on rents and secondly on building.

I treat the owners' and occupiers' interests as one. So far as the present argument goes, they are inseparable, and there is no need to suggest, and indeed it would be very undesirable, that contracts between them, either past or future, should be in any way interfered with. As each contract ended the rent and terms of agreement would be settled by bargain. If the tenant of a highly valuable site is able to throw upon his landlord the onus of the extra rate that will fall upon it, he will certainly do so, and the rental will be by so much reduced. Where the land value is comparatively small, and the assessment is reduced in consequence, either owner or occupier might secure the benefit. In the long run the owner bears the burthen and takes the advantages that accompany them, but both might and probably would benefit by the increase of building, to which the policy advocated would conduce.

Building is at present penalized. A property in section (A) is perhaps old and out of repair, but if the owner should rebuild and by so doing increase its annual value say, from £300 to £600, the occupier would, on the system now in use, have to pay not only this additional rent, but also double the amount of the former rates. This might be sufficient to turn the scale, and the owner, instead of laying out fresh capital, will probably patch up the old buildings and make them do for another ten years. There is no encouragement to spend money on building when it alone, amongst all the sundry wants of life, is taxed so heavily. But if it were otherwise, the freedom to invest money in improved buildings would gradually become an obligation. No one could lag behind his neighbours with impunity. Property carrying a high site value could be kept unimproved only to a small extent, and for a comparatively short time, while awaiting its market. Most of all would building be encouraged where the land which was not being put to use would, as we have said, nevertheless be subject to tax, since site value, being irrespective of immediate or actual use, would be liable to rating, whether in 'occupation' or not. And on open ground which may still be bought by the acre, it is beyond question that the new occupier would secure the advantage of a low competitive rent, and that ground values would rise very slowly if, with improved means of communication, land in all directions became available.

In stating the general principles of this measure, it is not necessary for me to go into details, as on all such points I can refer the reader to the evidence taken by the recent Royal Commission on Local Taxation, and to the luminous Minority Report from which I have borrowed the whole argument here put forward. I should say also that in its main features it appears to

have been set forth, before the date of the Commission's Report, in reports addressed to the London County Council by their assistant-valuer, Mr. Edgar Harper (now statistical officer to the Council), one of the principal witnesses heard by the Commission. I am, of course, only myself responsible for the use I make of this argument. The eminent men who signed this Report* did not go much beyond the affirmation of the principle, suggesting only its adoption to a very limited extent. It must be admitted, that without good cause, any disturbance of established methods of taxation, and consequently of values, is to be deprecated. But in this case there is good cause, and it may be fairly remembered that the property which would be subject to extra rating is that which has increased so enormously in value in recent years, benefiting in especial by the very aggregation of population and of trade that has caused the difficulties of the present urban situation. Moreover, only at the extremes of centre and circumference would the changes of incidence be strongly marked; in far more cases they would not be serious. If minor alterations are disregarded, the assessments in the division which I have called (B) would, on the whole, far outweigh (A) and (C) put together.

All alike would benefit, however, if prepared to take advantage of the opportunities of development which would offer. It has been well said that 'no one should own land who has not money to spend on it.' And if we add 'or will not permit others to spend money on it,' this statement would be doubly true of urban holdings if building were freed from taxation. For with the new basis of assessment an immediate premium would be put on enterprise, and not the owners of the land alone but the whole community would profit. We have

* Lord Balfour of Burleigh (Chairman); J. B. Balfour, Esq. (now Lord Kinross), Lord Justice General of Scotland; Sir Edward Hamilton, K.C.B., Permanent Financial Secretary to the Treasury; Sir George H. Murray, K.C.B., Secretary to the Post Office; and Mr. James Stuart.

in our ill-built, imperfect towns an undeveloped estate, of which we have hardly begun to realize the value.

In the extension that may be foreseen, it may also be possible to find some mitigation for the hard case of those whose property under this scheme would be more heavily rated. The central charges which this property now bears would tend to be lightened ; the new rateable territory would pay its own way, and make an increased contribution to the common purse. Nor would it seem impossible to devise a scheme by which future increase in site values should be specially taxed. A quinquennial re-valuation is usual. If the change of system here proposed were made, it would provide a point of departure; and any excess shown on the original valuation might not unreasonably be made liable to twice the ordinary rate, so as to lighten by so much the burthen on the rest.

Nor is it to be supposed that even after public opinion has become convinced of its necessity, so great and far reaching a change would be made at one stroke. Some gradual process would probably be adopted. For instance, if accepted in principle, the alteration in the incidence of the rating might be spread over ten years. Then for the first year the rates would be assessed 1-10th on site value and 9-10ths on the present plan ; for the second year, 2-10ths and 8-10ths, and so on till the desired end was attained. Some such alleviation of the effect of the operation would be even more needed to facilitate the adjustment of the complicated joint interests of owners and occupiers, than to carry into effect the changes of incidence as between property and property.

A delay of this kind may be accepted as reasonable and politic, but I strongly deprecate the adoption of any plan which rests upon the addition to the existing rates of a fresh imposition based on site values; for this is to abandon the true principle of the measure.

The present system is full of inequalities. These, as well as those which the proposed re-adjustment would bring, would tend to be lessened in succeeding years by the substitution of a well for an ill-balanced system, and meanwhile the immediate sacrifices called for would fall almost entirely on the centres best able to bear them.

The suggestion is of general application, and if adopted at all would hardly be confined to London, but it is for the sake of London that I now ask consideration for it. The needs are pressing ; some dislocation may be faced, and some sacrifices may be asked, if by these means the evils of crowded urban life can be mitigated.

I have painted these evils as they are, having first sought to trace their origin or their causes, and to study the efforts made to deal both with these causes and with their effects. At every turn I have been forced to recognise that evils driven under or driven out at one place, reappear at another, and are barely kept at bay by all our efforts. I have seen, too, how the causes and consequences of poverty hang together and interact for evil, and how at the root of all that is both best and worst, lies home life. To improve these conditions, engrained as they are in character, every effort of every agency will still be needed, but the task will become more possible if the standard of the home rises.

It may perhaps be objected that the effect of providing better and more rapid communication would be to foster centralization, and so increase the evil we are trying to amend. But in many ways it would have the opposite result. Wherever a man may go to find his work, it is near home that he will seek his pleasure, and his wife will find her shopping, and thus a local centre is formed. Such centres are to be found now all round London, with brilliant shops, streets full of people, churches, and chapels certainly, perhaps

a Town Hall, and probably a theatre. The growth of such local life in London during the past decade is very noticeable, and would undoubtedly play an increasing part in the greater and happier London I desire to see.

Another very reasonable fear is that all there is of natural beauty in the neighbourhood of London, will be swamped by the advancing streets, and that whereas we now have open spaces, of a kind, because held in this condition speculatively for a rise in value, we shall then have none ; since the owners, it may be thought, will be almost obliged to make their market. The process will really be gradual. It is not possible that all the vacant land around London can find its ultimate use at once, but as large quantities will come into the market, real and not speculative values will prevail, and the rates to be paid will not be very high. Nevertheless there are dangers in the rapid extension of streets and houses, only to be met by the setting apart in advance of sufficient ground for parks and open spaces, carefully, and if possible nobly planned, for the needs of the coming people. This will be a necessary expense, but the land will be available at a moderate price, and part at least of the cost will be found again in the rateable value of the remainder.

Thus I note these objections only to rule them out, but in conclusion I would emphasize once more the point to which they lead : the crying necessity for forethought and plan in the arrangement of our metropolis, with its great past and, I hope, still greater future.

PART IV

CONCLUSION

§ 1

THINGS AS THEY ARE AND AS THEY MOVE

SEVENTEEN years and an equal number of volumes have been occupied with this inquiry. In as many pages I must now try to sum up the results: seventeen words would doubtless suffice did I know how to choose them aright. But the subjects covered offer a wide range; being no less than life and industry as they exist in London at the end of the nineteenth century under the influences of education, religion, and administration.

We see life cursed by drink, brutality and vice, and loaded down with ignorance and poverty, while industry is choked by its own blind struggles, and education is still painfully mounting, and too often slipping back from, the first rungs of its ladder. We see religion paralyzed by its own inconsistencies, and administration wrapped in the swaddling clothes of indecision and mutual distrust. Such is the dark side of the picture, which, perhaps, looks the more black to our eyes owing to the heightened demands of a rising standard of life, and the expectancy of better things; as it is said that the greatest darkness precedes the dawn.

Improvement certainly there has been at every point. As to drink, although teetotalism no longer arouses the enthusiasm of early days, yet those who abjure alcohol

exercise a great and increasing influence ; whether it be in the army, or in the police, or in civil employment of every kind, responsibility largely devolves upon them, while with those who take alcohol, though there may be more drinking, there is, undoubtedly, less drunken rowdiness. So, too, in spite of outbursts of 'Hooliganism,' there is much less street violence ; and such scenes of open depravity as occurred in years gone by do not happen now. There is greater intelligence, even though it be largely devoted to betting, and wider interests prevail, even if they be too much absorbed in pleasure seeking. Side by side with these improvements the whole level of poverty has been pressed upwards by increasing demands on life—demands which were unthought of forty, thirty, or even twenty years ago. But the gulf is still wide which separates the poor from such a degree of confident comfort as civilization calls for, and as we should wish all men to enjoy.

While the whole of life might well be lifted on to a higher plane, we cannot dare to wish that the struggle should be avoided. And light breaks through the darkness. Destitution degrades, but poverty is certainly no bar to happiness. If we permit our minds to dwell upon the masses in London who exist under its disabilities, we may think also of thousands of poor but wholesome homes ; of husbands and wives happy in working for each other and rejoicing in their children—of whom it may in this world be said, 'of such are the kingdom of home.'

Thus in regarding the conditions of life at their worst, and in seeking to improve them, there are two distinct tasks : to raise the general level of existence, but especially the bottom level, is one ; to increase the proportion of those who know how to use aright the means they have is another and even a greater. But each effort should aid the other.

Among ameliorative agencies, very high hopes were placed upon the benefits of compulsory school teaching, and in spite of palpable failure to secure the results anticipated, these ideas still run riot in our imaginations. A whole generation has been through the schools, but in scholarship there is not much to show for it. Almost all can, indeed, read, though with some effort; and write, after a fashion; but those who can do either the one or the other with the facility that comes of constant practice are comparatively few. Nevertheless, popular education has been far from wasted even in the case of those who may seem to have learnt but very little. Obedience to discipline and rules of proper behaviour have been inculcated; habits of order and cleanliness have been acquired; and from these habits self-respect arises. Thus the boys who have experienced school life, however rudimentary their knowledge of the most elementary subjects, and although they may remember nothing else that has been taught, may yet be better fitted to take up the duties of adult life. The same is true of girls, whose teaching moreover seems to be more directly useful as well as more successful than that of boys; while with regard to the parents, the fathers and mothers who have experienced school life, are no longer unfriendly to education. They do, indeed, nearly always take their children away from school at the earliest possible age, but are nevertheless far more anxious that they should benefit by the advantages offered than were their own parents. The old attitude of suspicion, often amounting to hostility, has almost passed away.

And again, brighter light breaks through when we pass from the general to the particular. If we think of the overwhelming mass of ignorance that still persists, we must not forget the case of boys and girls who eagerly grasp every opportunity, and, even if by units,

justify the perfecting of the ladder of learning now reaching from elementary school to university. Once more two tasks lie before us : To lift the whole level by recognising the part which elementary education can really play, and then adapting it for that part ; and also to increase the number and the opportunities of those who are capable of profiting more fully by the training they receive.

As with the total abstinence movement on the social, and with compulsory schooling on the educational side, so, too, religious work suffers under great disappointments, though they are as yet far from being acknowledged or even fully felt, many of the efforts made being so recent and so much buoyed up by enthusiastic faith. The religious bodies will, I think, incline more and more to intensive work, but they, too, need to recognise that they have a double task : in the raising of the human ideal, which applies to all, as well as the gathering in of the few who respond fully to any particular doctrines taught.

With regard to progressive administration, still shaping its ideals and fretting against restraints, the day of reckoning and disappointment is not now, and though it will surely come, there is in that no reason for holding our hands. The failures may be many, and the success that can be won may take some unexpected shape, but at least the effort to attain it must be good in stimulating the consciousness and vigour of common life.

And if we turn to industry, the Atlas on whose broad shoulders our whole world rests, though we have to face disappointment at the failure of trade union organization to fill the place expected of it, and though public opinion, backed up by law, still struggles vainly to check abuses and prevent or punish fraud, we are conscious of a power and vigour

in the impulses of trade, which can wipe out mistakes.

Closely connected with the vitality and expansion of industry, we trace the advancement of the individual which in the aggregate is represented by the vitality and expansion of London. This it is that draws from the provinces their best blood, and amongst Londoners selects the most fit. Amongst such it is common for the children to aim at a higher position than their parents held; and for the young people when they marry to move to a new house in a better district. A new middle class is thus forming, which will, perhaps, hold the future in its grasp. Its advent seems to me the great social fact of to-day. Those who constitute this class are the especial product of the push of industry; within their circle religion and education find the greatest response; amongst them all popular movements take their rise, and from them draw their leaders. To them, in proportion as they have ideas, political power will pass.

§ 2

FURTHER NEEDS

I have spoken of structural expansion as the first need of London, with administrative expansion following naturally in its train. The further need, which includes everything else, is the mental expansion which will make full use of opportunities. We want to see London spreading itself over the Home counties, not as an escape from evil left behind, but as a development of energy which will react for good over the

whole area as it now exists, even in its blackest and most squalid centres.

One of the dangers of the growth of London, as we have seen it happen, is the tendency for the better-to-do classes to fly the furthest off, centrifugally, with the result that residential London tends to be arranged by class in rings with the most uniform poverty at the centre. But many other influences, besides mere flight, are effective in proportion as the mechanical means of communication are perfected and made convenient for all classes and for transit at all hours. Many may still move out to as great a distance as their purse permits; but others will pause, hesitating to lose central advantages in education or amusement, in pleasure or in profit of one kind or other; ready to set off accessibility to suburbs and country combined with a home nearer the heart of things, against the reverse of these. The decision depends not so much on class or on amount of income (over a certain minimum), as on the constitution of the family. The father of young children finds it best to establish their home as far from the crowded parts of London as he can afford to travel to and from his work. They obtain purer air, more room and desirable surroundings; and from morning to evening their mother is occupied with their care. But later, when employment is sought by the younger generation, or better opportunities of education for them or of pleasure for all, the balance may turn in favour of more central quarters.

As the power of movement spreads, this habit of weighing alternative attractions will, I feel assured, become more and more common, and more and more effective. Then will be set up a competition in advantages; each district, in order to hold the favour of a desirable class of resident, making the most of those it can offer. Parks and trees and hilly ground, where these exist, will compete with

polytechnics, public libraries, concert halls, and bright streets elsewhere. Some positive attraction must be offered. The mere advantage of nearness to work will no longer suffice, nor the mere escape from the pit.

Mental expansion is needed both to ensure the supply of, and to stimulate the demand for advantages, and should go forward simultaneously with structural expansion, as it would also with economic progress. Towards this ideal of moral advancement and intellectual growth every social agency can contribute something, and while going about its own work in its own way, may recognise that many alternative or additional methods of action can be employed and made to conduce to the same end; and unless the outlook be rather narrow, may even welcome, as fellow workers, all who further the general aim.

What is needed is more vigorous life in every direction: social, educational, industrial, political and religious.

If they be evidences of vigour, pleasure seeking and extravagance need not be condemned, nor even some excess be dreaded. We may confidently trust in the balance of forces; a running stream is always wholesome; a stagnant pool, the danger.

Starting with the stimulus of freer movement and better homes, the people will become more alive and more responsive to agencies of all kinds that offer service, and seek co-operation and support; and even if at first this applies mainly to chosen sections of the mass of the population, yet gradually the increased activity and interest in life will be felt beneficially in the classes below those primarily affected. Finally, pressing on in this direction, we may find it increasingly possible to enforce among the lowest that higher standard of existence which is in some sense our greatest need.

In an early volume ('Poverty,' Vol. I.) I pointed

out how great a burthen to the community the poverty of the poor constitutes. The lives of the lowest class are in every way wasteful. Though badly fed and clothed and housed, a considerable section is not self supporting; what they earn is badly spent, and in spite of earning very little, they are comparatively unprofitable servants. In place of contributing to wealth they are a drain upon it.

I further pointed out that those most injured by the depressed poverty of others, were those who are themselves only a little removed from the same condition; whose own life is dragged down by their unfortunate, or weak, or worthless neighbours—by the burthen they constitute on the rates, by their competition in the labour market, by their ill-regulated conduct in their homes and in the street, and by the irresistible appeal of extreme distress that makes itself felt nowhere more strongly than on the charity of those who are themselves poor. Humanly speaking, the existence of this class, consisting so largely of the inefficient and the worthless, may be inevitable, but economically their services are not wanted at all. The work of the world could be performed better and more cheaply without them; what they do could be easily done by the classes above in their now partly occupied time, and the money so earned be better spent.

This argument I venture to recall now. In pursuance of it I then asked, and now ask again, whether it may not be possible by some means, forcibly to raise the lowest levels of human life, without checking expansion and development above? The proposal made when I first touched on this subject was that while bringing persistent and pervading pressure to bear in order to make a continuance of the present conditions impossible, a way out might be opened by the establishment of industrial communities which,

lying midway between pauperism and independence, should realize the intention expressed by the word 'workhouse.' I suggested that an experiment might be tried. The Salvation Army had a somewhat similar idea, and as regards single men have carried out their scheme on volunteer lines at Hadleigh, with farming and brick-making as industries; and at the 'Elevators' with the sorting of paper and other waste material, by way of occupation, together with some work of a higher class, for which the needs of their whole community provide a market. The measure of their success and its limitations have been dwelt upon in a previous volume. However much the opportunities might be extended, the limitations would remain. It is rather as a weapon to be used in dealing with indigence or vagrancy, than as providing a cure, that the scheme must be regarded, but even so it would be worth extending, so that every man might have his chance, or even his chances, and all the world know without doubt that if he has not taken them, he might have done so.

Probably the outcome would be very similar if the family instead of the individual were taken as the unit, or women instead of men; but again the experiments would be worth trying, even if, as before, we were only able to secure a new weapon for use in the war which private charity and the Poor Law wage with indigence. In such work public and private effort might be combined.

In order to raise permanently the lowest levels of human life many efforts must converge. Success could only be very gradual, and never perhaps complete, but the principle of action is unchangingly the same: to interfere by administrative action and penalties at each point at which life falls below a minimum accepted standard, while offering every opportunity for improvement. Not only must the pressure exerted be pervading and persistent, but the possibilities offered must be no

less ubiquitous and many-sided, in adaptation to the ends in view. Is it vain to seek for united action on such a subject as this? Is it beyond human hope that the thousand independent agencies that can be counted should recognise that they each hold a definite place in one great social movement? Recognised or not, the movement is there, but it loses strength from lack of common consciousness.

In another early volume ('Poverty,' Vol. IV.), when considering the evils that are commonly entitled 'the sweating system,' and once more in a later volume ('Industry,' Vol. V.), I referred to the necessity, as it seemed to me, of making the owners of houses used for industrial purposes legally liable if improper conditions prevailed, and I upheld the same view when giving evidence before the Royal Commission on Labour. I pointed out that in regard to sanitary or structural requirements, the actual owner, or his representative to whom the rent is payable, was ultimately responsible, and that he might reasonably be made accountable also for the uses to which, in order to produce the rent paid, his property was put by his tenant; and further, that if made liable for any fines incurred he would still, in any matter in which the tenant was the offender, have his remedy against him, since, if in such a case the fine could not be collected, the right of summary eviction might be given. I now revert to this suggestion because I believe that in no other way can the evasion of the Factory Acts in small workshops be checked. The landlord can protect himself. One result financially would probably be higher rentals for tenants who could not be trusted to keep within the law. No doubt some additional thought would be given to the selection of tenants, and an eye would be kept on their actions; but the performance of such duties would be no more than a fair return for the legal advantages which real estate enjoys.

In all plans for improvement in the conditions of life the immense powers that can be wielded by the landlord for good need to be recognised, strengthened and brought actively to the front.

§ 3

THE ROAD AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

Improvement must be sought, first of all, in the deepening of the sentiment of Individual Responsibility. This sentiment rests no doubt upon right feeling, but is subject to stimulation by the opinion of others, and may finally be enforced by law. Of these three, public opinion seems to me to be the most lax. The expectation of evil, the attributing of bad motives, and the ready acceptance of a low standard constitute the first difficulty we have to meet. Cynicism is accounted so clever that men pretend to be worse than they are rather than be thought fools. Clear views of right and wrong in matters of daily action, however firmly they may be rooted in the hearts of men, seldom find utterance; and when this polite rule is broken some surprise is always felt. It is no question of charitable construction of the acts of our neighbours, on the ground that, not knowing all, we hesitate to judge; an attitude for which, though it may be weak, something might be said; but it is that we deliberately refuse to know, in order that we may not need to judge. And this is not the worst, for without knowing or judging, or seeming to care at all, many, if not most men, in order to be safely sensible, indiscriminately assume rascality everywhere. This moral laxity applies to all classes, with some divergence as to the subjects on which the point of honour stands out and cannot be ignored; and by none is it exhibited

more widely than by the great masses of respectable working men.

It would seem inevitable that the sense of duty must be weakened by the loss of the habit of judging and of the experience of being judged, as well as by laxity, but nevertheless I venture to assert that it is maintained at a far higher level than is generally thought or claimed. Thus legal enactment, if carefully aimed and measured, becomes doubly and trebly valuable, serving first to check the evil-doer, and secondly to awaken the individual conscience, while it also, by impressing an undeniable seal of condemnation, crystallizes the looseness of public opinion as to any particular offence. Legislation can never go far beyond the sanction of existing public opinion, but may yet lead the way, and in many cases has done so.

The owner of a house, if he be given, and if he accept, his proper place, will be but the medium by which punishment will fall on the evil-doer and order be enforced; and by the performance of this service he will acquire a new and noble title to his property. By this means, and by this means alone, can houses of ill-fame be suppressed or controlled, and the difficulties of enforcing the Factory and Workshop Acts in minor establishments be overcome. It is not the ultimate owner and immediate landlord alone whose sense of responsibility may be strengthened, and upon whom new duties and new liabilities may justly be thrown: against others, too, besides the holders of licences, penalties for breach of social regulation or moral order may wisely be enforced. In proportion to the degree of effective liability maintained in this respect do we see a rising standard of public judgment and expectation; and it would be the same throughout if responsibility could be enforced. The attempts made by special legal enactment to stamp their true character on unscrupulous money lending, on secret commissions, and on fraud in company

promotion, though very difficult of execution, have undoubtedly had a considerable effect on public opinion. In addition, the giving or receiving of bribes in connection with the work of public officials deserves some special stigma of disgrace, and a public recognition of this would probably be welcomed by all well-meaning officials.

It is in such ways that the sense of individual responsibility may be strengthened and used.

Private corporations and associations for the advancement or protection of acquired interests are more frankly selfish than individuals. They provide a conservative element of the utmost value in the social structure, and may be expected to act up to the letter of the law. But even more than individuals, they need to be humanized by the influence of public opinion, or their giant strength may be abused. They constitute our second difficulty.

We then pass to political, philanthropic, and religious associations, which in their efforts to enlighten and advance mankind are the most zealous of all agencies. To them even more than to the direct working of public spirit in administration do we look for the methods of improvement; but their zeal itself brings its difficulty. Each is too apt to cry 'I am the way,' and to be unable to admit any other possible salvation. It is not jealousy, for jealousy, like imitation, is a manifest form of approval, but positive hostility, due, it may be, to the feeling that one proposal traverses another; but far more to actual condemnation of the efforts made by others, however well-intentioned they may be. And from this feeling of antagonism it is that each effort is apt to draw its greatest strength. To find a fulcrum which shall neither be nor involve hate is the third and greatest difficulty of all.

As to administration, this is at present in a highly experimental stage, particularly in London, and needs encouragement fully as much as criticism. It has to form its own experience, and to stand or fall, or change its ways, according to the results. Vast powers have been most deliberately conceded to local authorities, and these powers are increased every year. To suppose that they will not be used is to assume the ridiculous position of a father who, after giving a young man a latchkey and money to spend, expects him to be at home every evening by ten o'clock. It is not one experiment, but hundreds or thousands that are being made, by local bodies, large and small, all over the country, with varying aims and under varying auspices. The Local Government Board may cluck from its coop, but the young birds will run far, and, if they are ducklings, will take to the water. London differs only because of its size. It is the 'ugly duckling' of this story.

In 1888 the Conservative Government, by establishing the London County Council, took a great step in the development of the sense of local responsibility, relying for its success on the good sense of the people; and on this same foundation our hopes for the future rest. It is probable that the sphere of collective municipal action will gradually be defined, though it may be too soon yet to lay down rules. As trenching on the sphere of industry, one theory would confine it to necessary monopolies, another would extend it to all monopolies, while a third would create monopolies on purpose. Probably only experience can decide as to what shapes collective action, whether monopolistic or not, may wisely take. Democratic local government is at present in the making, but it is one of the points (for of these there are still several) in which I believe our country to be in advance of all others, and if we can keep the lead in this particular, we shall not

fail to hold our great place in the economy of the world.

Finally, facts are still needed. But the spirit of patient inquiry is abroad; my attempt is only one of its children. Every year that passes produces valuable work in this direction, both official and voluntary. The various 'Settlements' are all centres of research, and the work often carries a small endowment. Moreover, the London County Council has in nothing shown a higher sense of its position or a more truly progressive spirit, than in the careful collection and liberal publication of statistical and social information.

These considerations have reconciled me to the incompleteness of my own work. At the best speed possible to me, it would have taken three more years, and I suppose three more volumes, to have dealt adequately with the new subjects touched upon in the preceding pages; an extension which the limits of my readers' patience (to say nothing of my own) absolutely forbade.

At this point, therefore, my work ends. I have not attempted to make any direct inquiry into the habits of the people in their various classes, nor made any detailed study of administration as conducted by the various local authorities. But these subjects have naturally been continually before me, and a good deal of information has been gathered concerning them. Placed between saying nothing and saying what I could, I have chosen the latter alternative, and can only beg the indulgence of the reader for the presumption with which I have put forward my views on subjects so debatable and difficult.

Further than this it will be remarked that some subjects of extreme importance in connection with the life of London are hardly mentioned at all. The great Friendly Societies have been barely alluded to, and the system of popular life insurance has been

neglected. Of Co-operative distribution, whether on its wholesale or retail side, little has been said, whilst the great question of Co-operative Production has been but incidentally spoken of. More noteworthy still is the omission of any reference to the influence on London life of Art and Literature, and especially to that branch of Literature which is termed *par excellence* "The Press." With regard to all these subjects I can only plead that in the absence of the body of special information needed, I could have offered but a few general and perhaps obvious remarks. There will doubtless be other subjects or points of view, the neglect of which may strike the reader, though perhaps none of quite equal importance, or so likely to be involved in future developments, as those I have mentioned. But besides any of which we may now be conscious, there will be others which coming years will unfold, when if this book should be consulted as a record of the past it will surely be with amazement at the failure to remark, or give their true significance to, the tendencies that will then appear to have been so evident; the stirrings of mighty movements, or the shooting of new life. How, it will inevitably be asked, is it possible that any one could have been so blind?

The last word I would add is this: the object of the sixteen volumes has been to describe London as it appeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Beyond this I have sought, however, imperfectly, to show what is being done to ameliorate its conditions, and have suggested some directions in which advance might be made; but this last was no part of the original design, which was, solely, to observe and chronicle the actual, leaving remedies to others. To this attitude I would now revert. For the treatment of disease, it is first necessary to establish the facts as to its character,

extent and symptoms. Perhaps the qualities of mind which enable a man to make this inquiry are the least of all likely to give him that elevation of soul, sympathetic insight, and sublime confidence which must go to the making of a great regenerating teacher. I have made no attempt to teach ; at the most I have ventured on an appeal to those whose part it is. Some individual views and convictions have been intentionally allowed to show themselves here and there in comments made, but no body of doctrine is submitted.

The dry bones that lie scattered over the long valley that we have traversed together lie before my reader. May some great soul, master of a subtler and nobler alchemy than mine, disentangle the confused issues, reconcile the apparent contradictions in aim, melt and commingle the various influences for good into one divine uniformity of effort, and make these dry bones live, so that the streets of our Jerusalem may sing with joy.

THE END

APPENDIX

NOTES ON APPENDIX TABLES

Two of the following tables giving (I) the number of Churches and Missions and (II) the number of Houses Licensed for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors have been compiled from lists prepared while the inquiry was proceeding in the several districts, and extend over a period of four years from 1897 to 1900. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date either by omitting places that have been closed or adding those opened during the interval. The figures do not profess to be entirely comprehensive, but are intended to show approximately the relative numbers of these agencies in the various districts at the time of the inquiry.

Table III, showing the number of London Elementary Day Schools, is compiled from the Board of Education Return of the number of schools receiving Parliamentary grants for the year 1900-1901. Beside the 986 schools included in the table, there are 92 other schools for which no returns of accommodation or average attendance are given in the Government report.

The Report of the School Accommodation and Attendance Committee of the London School Board for the year ending Lady Day 1901 enumerates 1010 *efficient* elementary schools in the London area with accommodation for 775,621 scholars; an average of 752,354 names on the rolls; and an average attendance for the year of 620,803 or 82·4 per cent. of the number on the rolls. The difference in the number of schools is principally due to the inclusion in the Government return of schools belonging to orphanages and similar institutions for which grants are made and the counting of 'special' departments for 'defective' and other children of an exceptional class as separate schools.

On the large scale map, which accompanies this volume, the position and character of the Churches and Missions, Licensed Houses and Elementary Schools are indicated over an area of twenty-four square miles comprising the most populous parts of East and Central London, and to this the reader is referred.

I.—Table showing Number of Churches and Missions classified by Denominations and grouped in districts to correspond with the Sketch Maps given in Vols. I. to VI. (Religious Influences).

Area: and reference to volume.	Church of England.	Congregational Churches.	Baptist Churches.	Wesleyan Churches.	Other Methodist Churches.	Other Churches and Missions.	Salvation Army Halls.	Roman Catholic Churches.	Jewish Synagogues.	Total.
Outer-East London ... ... (Vol. I., ch. i.)	39	11	12	10	10	10	7	7	1	107
Missions	*29*	*2*	*2*	*3*	*2*	*32*	...	...	...	*70*
North-East and North London (Vol. I., ch. ii. and iii.)	77	32	23	17	14	46	13	8	5	235
Missions	*43*	*13*	*6*	*4*	*3*	*43*	...	...	...	*117*
North-West London... ... (Vol. I., ch. iv)	55	14	16	10	4	19	2	8	5	133
Missions	*25*	*2*	*3*	*1*	...	*32*	...	...	...	*63*
Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, &c. ... ... (Vol. II., ch. i. and ii.)	37	8	7	4	2	12	5	5	25	105
Missions	*18*	*2*	*3*	*2*	...	*30*	...	...	...	*55*
Hoxton, Clerkenwell, &c. ... (Vol. II., ch. iii.)	31	7	7	3	2	6	3	5	...	64
Missions	*10*	...	*1*	*3*	...	*22*	...	...	...	*36*
West-Central London ... (Vol. II., chap. iv.)	40	2	10	1	...	12	1	6	3	75
Missions	*15*	...	*1*	*4*	...	*19*	...	...	...	*39*
The City ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. I.)	55	3	1	...	1	3	...	1	3	67
Missions	...	...	...	...	...	*1*	...	...	...	*1*
West London... ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. II., ch. i. and ii.)	88	11	10	8	7	19	5	15	2	165
Missions	*29*	...	*2*	...	...	*25*	...	...	...	*56*
Outer-West London ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. II., ch. iii.)	43	8	6	9	9	18	8	6	1	108
Missions	*19*	*2*	*1*	*2*	...	*32*	...	...	...	*56*
West Southwark, Newington, &c. ... ... (Vol. IV., ch. i. and ii.)	38	6	10	5	4	8	4	3	1	79
Missions	*18*	*6*	*5*	*3*	*3*	*32*	...	...	...	*67*
Bermondsey, Rotherhithe ... (Vol. IV., ch. iii. and iv.)	22	5	6	3	4	9	5	4	...	58
Missions	*14*	...	...	*2*	*1*	*25*	...	...	...	*42*
South-East London ... ... (Vol. V., Pt. I.)	45	9	15	11	7	21	7	6	...	121
Missions	*29*	*8*	*3*	*4*	*1*	*27*	...	...	...	*72*
South-West London ... ... (Vol. V., Pt. II.)	42	7	18	6	9	15	8	4	...	109
Missions	*18*	*6*	*3*	*5*	...	*26*	...	...	...	*58*
Outer-South London ... (Vol. VI., ch. i.-iii.)	46	13	27	6	14	27	7	5	1	146
Missions	*36*	*6*	*11*	*5*	...	*24*	...	...	...	*82*
Southern Suburbs, West ... (Vol. VI., ch. iv.)	32	6	13	7	5	12	3	4	...	82
Missions	*9*	...	*1*	*2*	*1*	*11*	...	...	...	*24*
Southern Suburbs, East ... (Vol. VI., ch. v.)	41	11	12	8	4	17	4	6	...	103
Missions	*14*	*1*	*2*	*4*	...	*13*	...	...	...	*34*
Total, Churches	731	153	193	108	96	254	82	93	47	1757
Missions	*331*	*48*	*44*	*44*	*11*	*394*	...	...	...	*872*
Grand Total	1062	201	237	152	107	648	82	93	47	2629

II.—Table showing Number of Houses Licensed for the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors, classified according to the nature of the license and grouped in districts to correspond with the Sketch Maps given in Vols. I. to VI. (Religious Influences).

Area: and reference to volume.	Beer, Wine, and Spirits "on or off" (Full Licence).	Beer and (or) Wine "on."	Beer, Wine, and (or) Spirits "off" (Off Licence).	TOTAL.
Outer-East London ... ... (Vol. I., ch. i.)	352	334	92	778
North-East and North London ... (Vol. I. ch. ii. and iii.)	472	204	332	1008
North-West London ... ... (Vol. I., ch. iv.)	362	84	218	664
Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, &c. (Vol. II., ch. i. and ii.)	492	251	31	774
Hoxton, Clerkenwell, &c.... ... (Vol. II., ch. iii.)	353	127	29	509
West-Central London ... ... (Vol. II., ch. iv.)	681	92	123	896
The City ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. I.)	448	70	109	627
West London ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. II., ch. i. and ii.)	632	140	300	1072
Outer-West London ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. II., ch. iii.)	207	98	226	531
West Southwark, Newington, &c. (Vol. IV., ch. i. and ii.)	389	179	47	615
Bermondsey, Rotherhithe ... (Vol. IV., ch. iii. and iv.)	245	66	28	339
South-East London ... ... (Vol. V., Pt. I.)	326	156	94	576
South-West London ... ... (Vol. V., Pt. II.)	181	145	217	543
Outer-South London ... ... (Vol. VI., ch. i.-iii.)	276	205	215	696
Southern Suburbs, West ... ... (Vol. VI., ch. iv.)	55	30	100	185
Southern Suburbs, East ... ... (Vol. VI., ch. v.)	89	68	119	276
Grand Total	5560	2249	2280	10,089

Note.—Beside fully-licensed public-houses the first column contains some hotels and restaurants which have not a public bar, and in like manner, the second column contains similar establishments having a permit for the sale for consumption 'on the premises' of beer and wine, or of only one of these beverages. Beside ordinary licences for beer on draught and grocers' licences, column 3 includes the licensed premises of dealers in bottled beers wine or spirits; but places licensed only for the sale of 'sweets' or 'medicated wines' are omitted, as are breweries and other places licensed for the manufacture of any of these beverages.

II.—Table showing Number of Elementary Day Schools with their
according to their management, and grouped in districts to
(Religious Influences).

Area and Reference to Volume.	Board Schools.			National and Church Schools.			Parochial Schools.		
	No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.
Outer East London ... (Vol. I., ch. i.)	51	51,684	45,245	19	10,079	7,766	1	580	271
North-East and North London ... ... (Vol. I., ch. ii. and iii.)	69	84,959	68,697	25	13,205	8,593	4	2,465	1,730
North-West London ... (Vol. I., ch. iv.)	33	33,676	26,947	30	15,361	11,724	1	538	376
Whitechapel and Bethnal Green ... ... (Vol. II., ch. i. and ii.)	37	43,962	35,788	15	8,590	6,647	2	432	355
Hoxton, Clerkenwell, &c. (Vol. II., ch. iii.)	22	24,216	17,365	12	6,666	4,242	3	2,172	1,536
West Central London ... (Vol. II., ch. iv.)	10	7,756	6,128	18	13,202	8,717	—	—	—
The City ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. I.)	3	2,217	1,924	7	1,691	897	2	447	240
West London ... ... (Vol. III., Pt. II., ch. i. and ii.)	14	13,949	11,084	41	26,131	17,354	3	3,067	1,572
Outer West London ... (Vol. III., Pt. II., ch. iii.)	36	45,494	38,612	16	8,262	7,226	1	606	554
West Southwark, Newington, &c. ... ... (Vol. IV., ch. i. and ii.)	25	28,589	22,241	19	12,847	8,841	2	1,581	821
Bermondsey, Rotherhithe (Vol. IV., ch. iii. and iv.)	32	37,037	27,447	11	5,014	3,696	1	223	112
South-East London ... (Vol. V., Pt. I.)	50	55,719	40,021	14	7,807	5,738	—	—	—
South-West London ... (Vol. V., Pt. II.)	34	39,413	33,825	14	6,515	4,977	5	2,791	1,854
Outer South London ... (Vol. VI., ch. i.-iii.)	47	55,506	44,185	18	10,552	8,187	—	—	—
Southern Suburbs, West (Vol. VI., ch. iv.)	19	20,681	16,501	9	4,428	3,159	—	—	—
Southern Suburbs, East... (Vol. VI., ch. v.)	14	12,167	9,593	13	5,236	3,841	—	—	—
Grand Total ...	496	557,025	445,603	281	155,586	111,605	25	14,902	9,421
Percentage of Attendance to Accommodation			80 %			72·6 %			63·2 %

Accommodation and Average Attendance (1900-1901), classified correspond with the area of the Sketch Maps in Vols. I. to VI.

Roman Catholic Schools.			Wesleyan Schools.			British and Other Schools.			Total.			
No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	No.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.	Percentage of Attendance to Accommodation.
7	3,179	2,040	3	1,652	1,128	5	2,553	1,836	86	69,727	58,286	83·6
7	3,071	2,061	2	1,063	674	4	1,544	878	111	106,307	82,993	78·2
10	3,742	1,920	1	437	301	7	4,247	2,914	82	58,001	44,182	76·2
11	4,819	3,176	—	—	—	8	4,067	3,055	73	61,870	49,021	79·3
4	1,651	904	3	1,668	1,702	1	474	330	45	36,847	26,079	70·8
7	4,143	2,022	—	—	—	4	1,338	678	39	26,439	17,545	66·3
1	377	183	—	—	—	6	1,610	906	19	6,342	4,150	65·4
12	5,202	2,262	2	1,810	678	6	3,236	1,816	78	53,395	34,766	65·1
11	4,282	2,653	—	—	—	3	1,118	621	67	59,762	49,666	83·1
4	2,881	1,796	1	474	223	5	2,065	1,504	56	48,437	35,426	73·2
4	2,867	1,721	—	—	—	6	1,942	1,467	54	47,083	34,443	73·1
6	2,968	1,760	—	—	—	1	1,115	498	71	67,609	48,017	71·0
9	2,977	1,649	1	550	363	4	1,009	682	67	53,255	43,350	81·4
3	1,978	1,403	2	1,065	631	4	2,113	1,263	74	71,214	55,669	78·2
4	815	410	1	261	171	1	473	352	34	26,658	20,593	77·2
2	315	148	—	—	—	1	133	94	30	17,851	13,676	76·6
102	45,267	26,108	16	8,980	5,871	66	29,037	18,894	986	810,797	617,862	
		57·6 %			65·1 %			65·1 %			76·2 %	

The principal religious bodies publish statistics concerning their work, but the particulars given are not uniform, nor, excepting in the case of the Church of England, and then only for the diocese of London, do the areas for which they are given correspond with that of the County of London, to which our own inquiry applies. We have been able, however, so to readjust and supplement these official figures as to obtain the subjoined statistics, covering the year 1902, and answering to the area of our inquiry:

The Church of England had 633 parochial or mission districts, with 1543 clergy, and provided accommodation for 565,000 persons in its parochial churches, subdivided as under:

	Parochial.		Parochial Church Accommodation.
	Districts.	Clergy.	
Diocese of London ...	413	1063	358,500 (part estimated.)
,, Rochester ...	219	478	205,600 ,,
,, St. Albans ...	1	2	900

The apparent decrease shown in the seating accommodation in the diocese of London compared with the figures given in the Industry series (Vol. IV., p. 202-203) is due to a revision of the Diocesan Directory, the seating accommodation of many churches being returned in the last edition as considerably less than in the earlier volumes. To the number returned 68,000 seats must be added for the accommodation provided in halls.

Their official Year Book shows that the Congregationalists had 218 churches and missions, accommodating about 146,500 persons. In 139 churches their membership was 35,620, and they had 198 Sunday schools with 65,683 scholars, and 5697 teachers. The Baptist Handbook returns 236 churches and missions which, omitting 33 of the missions, accommodate about 123,000 persons. There were 47,000 church members and 203 Sunday schools, with 71,841 scholars and 6113 teachers. The Presbyterians had 44 churches, accommodating 28,582 persons, and 24 missions. The church membership was 13,895, and there were 17,000 scholars in the Sunday schools. The returns of the various Methodist bodies are made by circuits, which are not adaptable to the area of our inquiry.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS OF COMPLETE WORK (17 VOLS.)

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS OF COMPLETE WORK

First Series: Poverty

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where grain is imported. Work needs physical strength, and influence of country millers secures countrymen employment. Stevedores mostly Londoners. Birthplaces of permanent staff, East and West India Docks: 70 per cent. of Londoners. Former occupations of permanent labourers. Very varied ages of ditto, mostly middle-aged. Birthplaces of 602 warehousemen: 57 per cent. London born. Countrymen predominate in the building and the carrying trades, and are numerous in the furniture, printing, and boot trades. pp. 81-99.

Foreign Immigration.—Whitechapel the great centre of foreigners in London—principally Polish Jews. Foreigners in locality of docks are chiefly sailors. Maps showing proportion of population of East London born abroad and born outside London. East London and Hackney has 27,500 foreign born residents. Census figures probably too low. Germans and Poles are most numerous. Dutch colony of cigar-makers. Influx of Jews owing to Russian persecution. Estimated number of Jews: at least 60,000 in East London, of whom half are foreigners. Jewish children in elementary schools. Emigration of Jews being carried out on a large scale —more than balances inflow. Extent of Jewish immigration, 1881-1886—probably averages 4000 a year. Rapidly decreased since 1886—now (1888) practically ceased. pp. 100-109.

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Introductory.—Present chapter, written in 1890, sequel to previous one, written in 1888. Problem cannot be satisfactorily handled for one part of London alone. *Resumé* of previous chapter. Real and definite, though indirect, relation between influx and town poverty. The poverty is that of deteriorated town labour, which has been displaced by the cream of the youth of villages. pp. 120-121.

Distribution of Immigrants.—343 per thousand of London inhabitants were born in other parts of United Kingdom. Countrymen settle mostly in outlying and more well-to-do parts of London, and are fewest in the poverty-stricken inner districts. Least of all in East End. City resident population above average in country-born: caretakers and shop assistants largely provincials. A great many countrymen settle outside metropolitan area proper. Annual net gain of Greater London by migration is about 30,000. Foreign colonies in London. pp. 121-125.

Efflux from London.—More than half those who migrate from London settle in adjoining districts. Not an economic migration at all—people go outside to live, but come in to work. Omitting for this reason the home counties, those who leave London mostly go to large towns, but a good number settle in country places, including many old persons with pensions or allowances who naturally reside where living is cheap. Seaports have more than their share of Londoners. Interchange between London and Northampton. In migration from London, health and convenience are the most important considerations, and not, as in immigration, questions of employment. pp. 125-128.

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Hebrew Charity.—Jewish Board of Guardians—its origin and work. It is supported by whole Jewish community, and it is the "Charity Organization Society" of the private benevolence of Hebrew philanthropists. The great bulk of its income (£13,000 to £14,000 a year) is lent for trade or business purposes, expended in emigration, or given in the form of business capital. Jewish charity superior to Christian—does not tend to demoralize recipients. But harm is done indirectly by enabling them to set up as small masters, thereby fostering the sweating system. Pauperizing effect of Christian conversionist societies—very small return for money expended, whilst result has been to produce a mischievous reaction within the Jewish community. pp. 173-179.

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VOLUME II

(*Second Series : Industry*)

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Pottery.—Drain pipes, chimney pots, crucibles, chemical jars, ginger-beer and ink bottles. Mostly stoneware. No china made. Throwers and finishers. Simple tools. Process of work. Kiln-setters. Burners. Moulders. Piece-work. Deductions for steam power. Irregularity of skilled piece-workmen. Majority of employees are unskilled. Production doubled by change from time to piece. Hard, hot, dusty, and stifling work. Bad reputation for drink. Limit of age capacity forty-five or fifty. Betting the ruling extravagance. Boys pick up the trade. No "potter's rot" in London. England's sanitary supremacy gives a trade monopoly. But future uncertain. pp. 87-92.

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Match-making—Girls becoming more regular and more cleanly. Diminishing danger of necrosis. "Safety" matches safe for producer as

well as consumer. Thoughtlessness of general public. Advantage of large factories. pp. 104-105.

General Remarks.—Boys pick up druggists' work. Few employed in chemical factories. Competition of France and Germany owing to the better training for chemists obtainable abroad, where professors work hand and glove with manufacturers. Much danger to health might be avoided by enforced cleanliness. Responsibility of the public. pp. 105-107.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—No trade union except among match girls. Earnings compared with mode of life. Employees in chemical factories live near work. Majority belong to friendly society. pp. 107-110.

SOAP, CANDLES, GLUE, &c. Vol. II., Pt. II., chap. iii., sec. 24, pp. 111-124.

Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Large number of boys and old men, and absence of young men. p. 111.

Soap.—Combination of fat with alkali. Slaughter-house refuse and town stuff the raw material of finest toilet soap. Fat "rendered," boiled, mixed with alkali, clarified, drawn off into frames, cooled, wire-cut into slabs, or milled and remixed with essences. pp. 112-113.

Candles.—Dipping. Rolling. Pouring. Moulding. Tallow dips. Moulding the modern method. Competition of gas, oil, and electricity. "Old lamps for new," but room for all. pp. 113-115.

General Remarks.—More washing in hot than cold weather. Soap will keep, and is made for stock in winter. Candles used in winter, and more easily made in cold than hot weather. Men work short time in summer. Mostly large factories. Unsavoury smells. Work picked up. Piece-work and time-work, with tendency to increase piece-work. Wages of time-workers rise with length of service. Work and earnings of women and girls. pp. 115-116.

Glue and Size, &c.—Ill-paid, unattractive, and rheumatic. In the hands of Irish. Made from scraps and parings of hides and skins. Size is glue half-boiled and undried. Gelatine is refined glue. Isinglass from fish bladders. Blood refiners. Sausage-skin dressers and paste-makers. pp. 116-118.

Dog-biscuits.—Contain meat fibrine. Oven work very trying. p. 119.

Organization--Wages—Social Condition.—No trade unions. August to November the slackest season. Effect of slackness to reduce *numbers* of time-workers and *earnings* of piece-workers. Shown by full wages returns. Timework earnings of unskilled men, first-class labourers, and skilled men compared with slow, medium, and quick piece-workers. Women and boys employed in wrapping and packing, and in making night-lights and tapers. Comparison of earnings and style of life. Men less crowded than apparent earnings warrant, owing to cheaper rents in outskirts of London. Large factories and many shop clubs. Most women glue-makers are wives of employees. pp. 119-124.

LEATHER DRESSING, TANNING, &c. Vol. II., Pt. II., chap. iv., sec. 25, pp. 125-152.

Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Age distribution of males normal. p. 125.

Tanning.—Bermondsey still the trade centre. Many factories driven

by high rents to provinces, but something of everything remains. Sufficient to set tone of the world's markets. Tanning and currying of heavy leather. Dressing of light leather. Hides unhaired, washed, and scraped and then placed in pits containing tannic extract. Unhairers. Fleshers. Lime-jobbers. Frizers. No marked seasons. One house busy while another is slack. Bating, an unsavoury task. Hide-splitting by machinery a London specialty. Striking out. Rolling. Rapping and rubbing to produce a smooth surface. Sunday work usual. Men begin as labourers and watch for opportunities of learning. Labour the chief item in light leather dressing. Used for boots, coverings, bindings, hats, pocket-books, &c. Skins stuffed with yokes of eggs for gloves. Grounding. Chamois leather. Piece-mastership system in light leather factories. Abuses. Glazers. Shavers. Strong trade society. Machinery used in Persian leather dressing. Unhealthy process of "fluffing." Departmental seasons but no shifting. pp. 126-132.

Currying.—Object to render leather soft and pliable. Machines used by mill-band makers. Coach-work. Duties of journeyman curriers. Piece prices and elaborate union price-list. Tablemen. Machinemen. Stuffed hides. Mill-band sewers. Patent leather japanners and enamellers. Process of work. All on piece. Strong trade society. Busiest in summer. pp. 132-134.

General Remarks.—Curriers busy from January to June for carriage leather; from June to August for saddles; and all the year for harness. Curse of drink. Alternating conditions of heat and cold. Temptations to topers. Effect of trade depression. pp. 134-5.

Fellmongering consists in getting wool off sheepskins by "liming" and "sweating." p. 135.

Fur-skin dressers and Furriers.—London the central mart for sealskins, which pass from sale-room to furrier, then to fur-dressers, then back to furriers. The "tubbing" of small skins by foreigners. Blubberers. Dyers. Trade secrets. Great irregularity for all except dyers. Men become builders' labourers and costers in the summer. Union price-list for all skins. Large and small factories. "Greeners" in the latter. Sweating. Furriers employ cutters, nailers, sewers, machinists, liners, and finishers. Chamber masters and family work. Hand giving way to machine sewing. pp. 136-138.

Hatters' Furriers prepare hare and rabbit skins for felt. Southwark the trade centre. Carrotters. Fur-pullers. Women pullers often married. Process. Unhealthy work. Only taken up by those in great poverty. Some home work. Most undesirable practice. Failure of union. pp. 138-140.

Portmanteaux and Trunks.—Hard-work by men in the West End; machine work, with help of women and boys, in the City. Retailers not often themselves manufacturers. The "Lords" and "Commons" of the industry. Once noted as hard drinkers. Busy during summer. pp. 140-1.

Fancy Leather Workers and Pocket-book Makers make bags, fittings, blotters, despatch boxes, card cases, &c. Large and increasing industry. Much sub-division. Union rates for rivetters, stiffeners, preparers, pocket-book and case-makers. Overtime before Christmas. Competition of cheap goods, but good work holds its own. Danger of over specialization. pp. 141-143.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—Small and exclusive light leather societies with high organization, but want of cohesion in heavy leather branches. Wages statistics. Labourers' wages. Earnings and mode of life compared. Drink and its causes. Clothes. Portmanteau

makers' boots. Absence of prospering friendly societies. Wives of less regular men work. pp. 144-152.

SADDLERY, HARNESS, &c. Vol. II., Pt. II., chap. v., sec. 26, pp. 153-165.

Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Few boys, many older men and married women. p. 153.

Saddle, Harness and Whip-makers.—Essentially English work. No foreign competition. Brown saddlers, black saddlers, harness-makers, horse-clothing, saddle-tree, collar and whip makers. Surviving illustration of mediæval workshop. No mystery in production. Prices fixed by union for over a thousand operations in saddle and harness-making. 9*d* per hour taken as basis of price. Brown saddlers the best paid. Women help in stitching flaps. Recruited from the country. No room in London for boys. Method of saddle making. All man's work in best West End shops. In less good places women do seaming and stitching. Harness saddles made by black saddlers. Great subdivision among small masters. Harness-makers and bridle-cutters. Horse-clothing machine-sewn by women. Saddle-trees of split beechwood. All hand-work. Successful opposition to machinery. Piece-work. Strong union. Learners limited to sons of journeymen. Apprenticeship enforced. Drink a tradition. Actual earnings of two men. Horse-collar makers. Fore-whale fitters, bodyers, finishers. Covers stitched by women. Whip-makers, stick dressers, finishers, riding-whip makers, thong-makers, braiders. Family work. Handed from father to son. Quilling up. Thongs plaited by makers' wives. Cab whips. Effect of Sweating Commission on military harness-makers. Men shift to houses holding Government contracts. No fashions, and work steady. pp. 154-161.

Organization — Wages — Social Condition. — Amicable Benefit Society of Saddlers and Harness-makers, Bridle-cutters, and Collar-makers, founded 1779, still in existence. Returns of wages, and comparison with mode of life. Effect of accoutrement making leaving London. Majority of men members of friendly society. Sectional prevalence of drink. pp. 161-165.

BRUSH-MAKING. Vol. II., Pt. II., chap. vi., sec. 27, pp. 166-182.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Excess of quite young and quite old due to introduction of machinery. p. 166.

Household and Fancy Brushes.—Four main branches of manufacture, viz., household, fancy, painters' and mechanical brushes. Borers, hair-hands, drawers, panners, trimmers, finishers, and polishers employed in household and fancy brush-making. Borers can drill three thousand holes per hour. Hard work. Holes drilled at special intervals and special angles. Piece-work. Larger firms use machinery worked by women at time rates. Bristle dressers sort bristles according to thickness and length. Drawers are women, except among bass dressers. Piece-work. Fancy work done at home. Panners "pitch in" fibre for brooms. Good pay for skilled men. Trimmers (women) trim fibre to size. Finishers cut brush board and fix it on to brush back. Some done by machinery. Polishing mostly by women. In small shops the same man may bore and finish, and the same women draw and trim. Bone work from cattle shin bones. Hard work. Polished in revolving tubs. Gravers. Women stamp and pack and fill up grooves with cement. pp. 167-172.

Paint-brush Making.—Well paid because (1) Bristles are expensive. (2) Same man makes brush throughout. (3) The union is strong. p. 172.

Mechanical brushes are made of wire, mostly in the North. London trade prospers in hands of small men working with their families. p. 173.

General Remarks.—Bound apprentices disliked by employers. Sweaters mostly small masters. Lower branches severely hit by foreign competition, but best work untouched. Effect of strike. Inexorable law of survival of cheapest among second-rate goods. Domestic employers in Tabard Street. Work not unhealthy. Influenza defied by panners. Prolonged age capacity except for borers. pp. 173-175.

Horsehair workers.—Hair sorted according to colour, thickness, and length, and used for making cloth and brushes, or for stuffing furniture. Piece-work. No seasons. Work shared when slack. Close trade. Only sons taught. pp. 175-176.

Comb-making, &c.—Best combs still made in London. Family industry. Machine-made combs come from elsewhere. London a centre for ivory billiard-balls. p. 176.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—The United Society of Brush-makers, founded in 1786, rules that no opposition be made to the introduction of steam power; nor money allowed for beer on club nights; and that direct rent be paid for clubroom. Strict regulations as to apprentices. Union will not work with non-union men. Society friction. Wages returns and actual earnings. Comparison of earnings with style of life. Majority of wives work. Marriages made in workshops. pp. 177-182

VOL. II., PART III. PRINTING AND PAPER TRADES. Chaps. i.-v., Sections 28-32, pp. 185-308.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.—Part III. comprises printing, bookbinding, paper, stationery, and bookselling trades. Census enumeration by age and sex. Remarkable number of males under twenty, and of females of all ages. Enumeration by families. Social condition as a whole and by sections. Very large increase in each section since 1861. pp. 185-188.

PRINTERS. Vol. II., Pt. III., chap. i., sec. 28, pp. 189-231.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. This trade more than any other absorbs boys. Small proportion of men at all ages after thirty. p. 189.

London printing trade.—Numbers in the London trade have risen from 23,000 to 40,000 in twenty years. Increase in provinces still greater. Printing a distinctly metropolitan industry, especially as regards newspapers and periodicals. Development of the printer's art. pp. 190-191.

Letterpress printing includes compositors, readers, pressmen, machine managers, stereotypers, printers' labourers, warehousemen, cutters, &c. Compositors outnumber all the rest. Technical terms. Duties of compositors and methods of work. Compositors organized in "Chapels." "Father of chapel" acts as medium between the trade union and the masters and men. Chapel funds. Correctors of the press. Pressmen a distinct body working hand machines. Machine managers work power machines. Their duties. Much care, technical knowledge and skill required. Printers' labourers semi-skilled. Paper-wetters, layers-on, strokers-in; cropper and platen hands, brakesmen, oilers, reel and fly hands. Lads enter machine-room as feeding boys and work up without apprenticeship. Boys largely replaced by men since prohibition of overtime. Method of stereotyping. pp. 190-196.

FOUR MAIN SUB-DIVISIONS of letterpress printing. (1) *Book-work*, as distinguished from periodicals, is leaving London. Effect of high wages and provincial and foreign competition. (2) *Newspapers*. Compositors, stereotypers and machine-men employed. Rivalry in rapidity of production. Morning and evening journals. Night-work on morning and day-work on evening papers. Method of work. Rapidity of production. Regular employment on daily papers. Weekly or monthly pressure of periodicals. Intermittent demand for "grass" hands. Attempt to decrease irregularity by publishing different journals in one office. System of "farming" dying out. (3) *Parliamentary printing* includes reports, minutes, and general Parliamentary work. Alternating pressure and slackness. Piece-work. "Whip" hands. High but irregular earnings. (4) *Jobbing work*. Employs large section of trade, chiefly in suburbs. Opportunities for display of skill and taste. Time-work. Men specially trained. pp. 196-201.

Seasons. August and September the dead months. Very little shifting among regular hands. Slack times press hard on "grass" men. "Comps" never work on machines. No alternative work. p. 201.

Training by seven years' apprenticeship. Offices of medium size the best schools. Incomplete training in large shops. Trade is consequently recruited from the provinces. Declining work for type-setters. "Comps" only partially successful in restricting boy labour. Attempt to enforce proportion of one apprentice to three journeymen. Men in machine department better organized. pp. 202-3.

Improved machinery and the advance of composing machines, especially for newspapers and cheap reprints. Probable advantage to London printers. pp. 203-4.

Lithographic printing from slabs of close-grained limestone, or from zinc plates. Stone preparers. Artists. Printers. Process of preparation. Three grades of artists, viz., trade masters, piece-workers, journeymen. Two of printers, viz., provers with hand presses and machine minders. Boys and girls lay on and take off the sheets of paper. Arrangement of the lay. No shifting from branch to branch. Busiest from August to October. Foreign competition in best class of work. England holds her own in posters and large work. Music printing. pp. 204-207.

Copper-plate printing replaced by lithography, photogravure, and other processes. But still used for bank-notes, scrip, shares, and visiting cards. Failing trade. p. 207.

Minor connected Trades.—*Chromo-block printing*. Foreign work preferred if time no object. *Photogravure and other processes* for book illustrations. Transfer of photo to copper-plate. Collotype printing. Developments of engraving rather than printing. *Machine ruling*, for account books. *Ticket writers, stencillers*, and *map mounters*. *Wood-type cutters* and *printers' joiners* make type frames, cases, galleys, composing sticks, &c. Large type cut by hand. Small masters in printers' joinery. Employment constant and little shifting. pp. 208-210.

Health and age capacity.—Chest disease the printers' scourge. Tendency to put weakly children to the work. Heated atmosphere necessary to suppleness of fingers. Few machine workers, litho artists, stone polishers, or printers can continue at work after fifty or fifty-five. pp. 210-211.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—In all these trades, wages and hours are controlled by the men. Every branch has a union. Unsuccessful attempt at National Federation. Distinct training needed for each branch. The London Society of Compositors, with freehold

premises, library and reading-rooms, and income of £21,000. Effect of raising wages has been to bring in outsiders and enforce economy in the use of labour. 38*s* for fifty-four hours minimum rate. Piece rates for newspapers and parliamentary work. "'Stab" hands. Awkwardness of shops which are "fair" in some branches and "rat" in others. Association of Correctors of the Press. Wages of stereotypers. Amalgamated Society of Pressmen. Machine managers a strong society. Printer's Labourers' Union. Platen printing machine minders. Friction with machine managers. Warehousemen and cutters' unions. Four lithographic printers' societies. Copper-plate printers' and machine rulers' societies. Special aptitude for organization among printers. 66 per cent. organized. Detailed wages statistics for busy and slack seasons. Earnings compared with style of life. Printers' colonies in Walworth and Caledonian Road. Social distinctions. Most men belong to both union and friendly society. pp. 211-231.

BOOKBINDERS. Vol. II., Pt. III., chap. ii., sec. 29, pp. 232-259.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Deficiency of males over thirty. Largely a women's industry. Many boys. p. 232.

Introductory.—Bookbinding a London industry, centred near Holborn Viaduct. Trade comprises two main divisions—letterpress and vellum. p. 233.

Letter-press-binding.—(1) Cloth. (2) Bible. (3) Extra and miscellaneous work. *Cloth* and *Bible* mostly machine work. *Extra work* is a handicraft and an art. Men forwarders and finishers. Women folders and sewers. Folding "to print" and "to paper." Printed sheets folded, beaten, collated, sewn, forwarded, covered, and finished. *Gold blocking.*—Great specialization in cloth forwarding shops where piece-work is common. Seasonal variations. Activity culminating at Christmas and lowest in July. Bible-work fairly regular. Little shifting from branch to branch or from shop to shop. pp. 234-240.

Scrap-album making. A minor branch of cloth binding, employing forwarders, case-makers, blockers. Socially inferior. pp. 240.

Book-edge gilding and marbling. Number of small employers. Mostly in Clerkenwell. Edges scraped with sharp steel. Polished with black-lead. Gold leaf laid on "glaire." Burnished with snakestone. "Swim" work. Trade contracting. Book-edge marbling. pp. 240-241.

Vellum binding.—Seldom more than a department in large printing shop. Chiefly for account books, but also for cheap "flush work." Paper from machine-ruler folded and sewn by girls. Sheets pass to boys to be glued, then to cutters, marblers, and forwarders. Boys largely employed in common flush-work. Busy October to February. pp. 241-243.

Trade conditions and prospects.—Coincidence of cheap paper, machinery, and popular education. Competition not so keen as in printing trade. No foreign, but increasing provincial competition, said to be due to eight hours' agitation. Disturbing influence of strike. pp. 243-4.

Trade organization, wages, &c.—Over 60 per cent. organized. Joint trade committees. Shop councils. Three hundred and forty bookbinding firms in London. Their employees. History of eight hours' strike. Success at once obtained by book-edge gilders. Advantage of a compact body of workmen against numerous small employers. Restriction of number of learners. Difficulty with printing firms which have binding departments. Final result a compromise, including a normal forty-eight hours' week, but allowing overtime. Decrease of

average earnings and increase of unemployed. Particulars of wages paid. Contraction in trade following eight hours' day. Seven years' apprenticeship usual. Prolonged age capacity. Men subject to chest diseases. Large firms have sick clubs. pp. 244-253.

Wages Statistics—Social Condition. Great seasonal reductions in earnings and hours. Increased irregularity and more stringent conditions have neutralized recent rise in wages. Women nearly all piece-workers. Comparison of earnings with style of life. Disadvantage of beginning work at an hour too late for workmen's trains. Meals and dress. Tendency of bookbinders to marry bookfolders. pp. 254-259.

PAPER MANUFACTURE. Vol. II., Pt. III., chap. iii., sec. 30, pp. 260-284.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Deficiency of males over thirty. Largely a women's industry. Many boys. p. 260.

Paper-making.—Only one mill in London district. Beatermen and machine men. Two shifts of twelve hours. Work regular and not laborious. p. 261.

Envelope-making.—Formerly in Cannon Street, now in Southwark. Largely machine work. Eight or nine girls to one man. Flap-gumming. Hand-work for special sizes. Piece-work. Busy October to Christmas. pp. 261-3.

Card and card-board box making.—*Vide* also Vol. IV., p. 278. Eight thousand five hundred women employed. Industry localized in Finsbury and East End. Day and piece-work. Boys pick up work and become cutters. Home workers an important section. Work given out ready cut and prepared. Start work at 8 or 9 a.m. Ample air space in factories. Poor Jewish cigarette box makers. Rapid growth of trade. Seasons equalized by varied demands. Work shared when slack. pp. 264-267.

Paper-bag making.—Home-workers in Bow and near Victoria Park. Larger factories in Southwark. Keen competition. Margin of profit low. 2*d* per hour the ordinary rate of earning. Men jealous of women. Condition and earnings better in factories than in East End. Piece-work the rule. Proportion of learners unusually large. pp. 267-269.

Paper-staining—*i.e.*, the manufacture of paperhangings. Seldom associated with other branches. Block-printing by hand and machine work. Decline in numbers employed, owing to increased use of machinery. Process of block printing. Flocking, bronzing, metalling, embossing. London the centre for hand-work. Process of machine printing. Tendency of machine to replace hand-work. Work from forty-eight to seventy hours when busy. Piece prices for hand-workers. Winter the busiest season. Lads begin by colouring the "blanket," and work up. Apprenticeship the exception. Father to son trade. Little shifting. No objections on the score of health. pp. 269-274.

Other Paper workers.—Alphabet-cutters, stove-ornament makers, paper collar and cuff makers, and others of whom the most important are bill-posters and sandwich-men. p. 274.

Bill-posters.—Development of bill-posting in recent years. Six hundred employed. Posting on protected stations and "fly-posting." Intimate local knowledge required by fly-posters. Average earnings of bill-posters 25*s* per week. Loss on wet mornings. Work picked up. Committee of Censorship for posters. Hoarding builders. Height of hoardings limited to 12 feet. pp. 274-277.

Sandwich-men.—Recruited from drinking clerks, valets, footmen, &c.

The ne'er-do-wells of civilization. About two thousand depend on it. Go fruit-picking in summer. High-flyers. Theatrical and publishers' jobs the worst paid. No work on rainy days. Work degrading, and at first distasteful, but finally not without its attractions. pp. 277-279.

Organization — Wages — Social Condition. Poorly organized. Returns of wages and comparison with style of life. Seasons. Wages of women and boys. Of 10,400 women in section, majority are box or envelope makers. Social cliques in factories. Dinner taken in the factory. pp. 279-284.

STATIONERS. Vol. II., Pt. III., chap. iv., sec. 31, pp. 285-290.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Age line shows same peculiarities as printers and bookbinders, though less marked. p. 285.

Stationers.—Originally stationed round and in porches of St. Paul's. Stationer's Hall. The men are now mainly dealers in paper. Growth of businesses by inclusion of many branches. Wholesale and retail trade. Countermen, salesmen, travellers, warehousemen, cutters, embossers, stampers, folders, sealers. Sellers in search of buyers. Boy note-paper folders and sealers. Work up from errand lads. Girls for fancy work. Busy October to Christmas. Keen foreign competition in common lines. pp. 286-288.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition. No trades union. Two provident societies connected with the trade. Wages statistics. Small proportion of crowded. pp. 288-290.

BOOKSELLERS AND NEWSAGENTS. Vol. II., Pt. III., chap. v., sec. 32, pp. 291-305.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Census figures include very few boys. p. 291.

Book Publishing.—In the hands of a few firms employing clerks, warehousemen, and porters. Great steadiness of employment. Seasons less marked than formerly. Record of new books and editions published between 1888 and 1894. pp. 292-293.

Bookselling.—Cheap prices. The demoralizing discount. Its insidious workings. Special terms, &c. Assistants, clerks, collectors, managers. Second-hand trade, with Holywell Street as trade centre. pp. 293-297.

Newsagents.—Long hours general. Early rising essential. Wholesale agents. Papers collected and packed off. Unsold copies exchanged. Start at 4 a.m. on four days of the week. Fines for unpunctuality. Boys work their way up. Retail newsagents start at 6 a.m. and close at 9 or 10 p.m. Morning and evening papers. Profits. Competition of street-sellers. Addition of tobacco business. Many lads employed before and after school hours. pp. 297-301.

Advertising Agents.—Competition keen. Employ clerks and canvassers. p. 301.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—The only trade union is an association of retail traders combined to protect trade customs and increase profits. Booksellers' and newsvendors' societies. Wages statistics. Small amount of crowding because the occupation of a shop is involved. pp. 301-305.

VOL. II., PART IV. TEXTILES. Chaps. i.-iv., Sections 33-37, pp. 309-323.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.—Textile manufacture proper consists in London of the remains of weaving in Spitalfields. Dyers, rope, canvas, floor-cloth and india-rubber makers are also included here. Census enumeration by age and sex. Enumeration by families. In silk-weaving, 31½ per cent. of the heads of families are women. Social condition. Changes since 1861. Except in floor-cloth and india-rubber, the decrease is great and continuous. pp. 309-312.

SILK AND WOOLLEN GOODS. Vol. II., Pt. IV., chap. i., secs. 33 and 34, pp. 313-325.

Statistics of Silk and Fancy Textiles (sec. 33). Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Age line shows a decaying industry, with abnormal proportion of old men. p. 313.

Silk weaving (*vide* Vol. IV., Poverty Series, p. 239).—Entirely an East End industry. Remnants held together by superior work, special efforts, or semi-philanthropy. p. 314.

Silk cord spinners.—A few employed in trimming-warehouses. Silk thread spun on cotton body for girdles and curtain loops. Work precarious, depending on vagaries of fashion. p. 314.

Ornamental design tracing.—Steady work. Design drawn on tissue paper, rubbed with powder, perforated and ironed. Much overtime. p. 315.

For remainder of women's fancy work, see Vol. IV., Poverty Series, p. 256.

Statistics of Woollens, Carpets, &c. (sec. 34). Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Large proportion of old men. p. 317.

Woollen trades.—Few remain as manufactures in London. Steady decline. p. 318.

Cloth working, consisting of shrinking and finishing. Special reputation of London. Cloth folded between layers of damp sheeting. Material for 4*s* 6*d* trousers and guinea suits does not repay shrinking, and the gloss must be retained in stuff for ladies' garments. Experience and skill needed in damping enough but not too much. Cloth inspected with a strong light, heated and folded under pressure. Standard week of fifty-four hours. Wages. Two busy periods. Casual cloth workers. Promotion from van boy to the "fag end," and so upwards to the "bout end," &c. Want of well-ventilated workshops. Rheumatism—lung affections—strained eyes. pp. 318-322.

Rug weaving.—A dying trade. Fine work still done for special orders. Busy from March to June. Leisurely habits of elderly men. Weavers on piece, but shearers on time work. p. 323.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition. Collapse of Broad Silk Weavers' Society and Clothworkers' Union. Wages returns. pp. 324-325.

DYERS, &c. Vol. II., Pt. IV., chap. ii., sec. 35, pp. 326-334.

Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Abnormal proportion of old men. p. 326.

Dyers and Cleaners.—Majority engaged in re-dyeing and cleaning. London specialties the dyeing of ostrich feathers, skin rugs, furs and leather. Great changes in last twenty-five years. Formerly many small masters. Beaten out of the field by Scotchmen, who now in their turn yield to large London cleaners. Wet cleaning. French or dry cleaning.

Dyeing. Finishing. Each article makes a circular tour occupying four to fourteen days. Dry cleaning, without unsewing, with benzoline spirits in revolving cylinders. Spring busy. Alternative work in rubber-works and laundries. Average hours fifty-six to fifty-eight. Overtime in spring, and complaint of working of the Factory Act. No training. Foremen-managers from Scotland. Intoxicating and combustible gases of naphtha. Good character of dyers and cleaners. pp. 327-331.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—No unions. Amity of employers with employed. Wages statistics. Fluctuations. Earnings of women and girls. Tendency to increase number of women at low rates. Comparison of earnings and style of life. pp. 331-334.

HEMP, JUTE AND FIBRE. Vol. II., Pt. IV., chap. iii., sec. 36, pp. 335-350.

Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Many boys and old men. Few middle-aged, as in all trades where machinery is superseding hand labour. p. 335.

Introduction.—More women in hemp and fibre work than returned in census. p. 336.

Rope-making.—In E. and S.-E. London. Increased use of machinery. Hand-made ropes for mountaineers. The "line" trade. Shoddy. "Cable" laid and "shroud" laid ropes. Bales of hemp cut open by women, "hackled" by machinery, pass as "sliver" to the spinning-room, and are then "laid" into ropes by skilled ropemakers. Work not unhealthy owing to tar. Christmas slack. Apprenticeship dead. Ropemakers' Union originally comprised men and women. Men seceded, but women remained and are enthusiastic unionists. Defective sanitary arrangements in factories. pp. 336-340.

Mat-making.—London formerly the trade centre. Large and small firms. Some home-work. Process of mat-weaving and mat-making. "Skeleton" maps. Durability of the work—"it never wears out." About forty-eight hours in normal week, but work intermittent. All piece-work. Shared when slack. Three years' apprenticeship. Number of boys limited. Prison labour. Mat-making practically abolished in English gaols. Mat-makers and police charge-sheets. Sick and loan clubs. Influential trade society. Price list enforced. pp. 340-345.

Bass Dressing.—Piassava from Peru. Fibre steamed, sorted, combed, cut in lengths, trimmed and shuffled. All piece-work. Hours fifty-two, but full time seldom made. Healthy work. Small trade. Very few apprentices. Boys pick up work. Bass Dressers' Union. pp. 345-346.

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India-rubber Goods.—Secrecy observed in rubber and floor-cloth trades. Few skilled workers, excluding chemists. Obedience and routine

requisite. Rubber curing. Raw rubber softened in hot water, sliced, crushed, dried, pulped, mixed with sulphur, calendered, and vulcanized. Industry still in its infancy. Men shifted between departments in large factories. Demand for telegraph and marine cables dependent on contracts. Met by floating body of workmen. 5*d* per hour for rank and file for fifty-four hours. No training. Unhealthy process of cold vulcanization for waterproofs. pp. 352-357.

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VOLUME III

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Milliners.—Both resident and non-resident. Former rank more highly in social scale. Heads of tables. Weekly employees regarded as workroom hands. Overtime usual from March to July. Two years' apprenticeship. Tea and dinner sometimes allowed. pp. 46-47.

Dress-makers.—Nearly all live out. Indoor accommodation only for the most skilled. Fitters. Bodice hands. Skirt hands. Business started on small capital. Apprentices. Busy April to June and about October. Great fluctuations in employment; long hours, heat, and crowding in work-rooms of fashionable dress-makers. pp. 47-49.

Mantle-makers.—Number of men employed. Competition of Leeds, Manchester, and Germany. West and East End work. Baisters, machinists, pressers. Interconnection with tailoring. Piece-work usual. Low prices reckoned per mantle. pp. 49-50.

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*TRIMMINGS, ARTIFICIAL FLOWERS, UMBRELLAS, &c.
Vol. III., Pt. I., chap. iv., sec. 44, pp. 58-65.

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Trimmings, &c.—Competition of Germany in cheap and French in better class trimmings. Upholsterers' trimmings form bulk of London trade. Busy from April to June and September to December. Women far outnumber men. Weavers are piece-workers. Spinners on time. Twisters for blind-cord. Weaveresses. Table-hands. Home-work the trade school. pp. 59-60.

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Stick-mounters.—A distinct branch, comprising cutters, finishers, chasers, polishers. p. 62.

Umbrellas and Parasols.—Makers fit together sticks, ribs, and metal work, employing cutters, frame-makers, and finishers. Busy March to May for parasols, August to October for umbrellas.

Glove making.—Practically extinct in London. p. 63.

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Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Abnormal proportion of young and deficiency of old men. 65 per cent. of women under twenty-five. p. 66.

* For women's work, *see* Vol. IV., Poverty Series. p. 256, *et seq.*

Drapers, &c.—Census figures misleading for women. Few heads of families. *Wholesale* houses about St. Paul's Churchyard and Wood Street. Not many women in them. Decreasing proportion of employees living on the premises. Space too valuable. Buyers. Warehousemen. Salesmen. Stock-keepers. Business concentrated on show days. Reduction in hours worked. Boys trained by serving two years without pay. Country origin preferred. *Retail* shops of three classes. Competition confined to shops "similar and similarly situated." The more fashionable the shop, the larger the proportion of running accounts. "Squadding" parties. Hours in small, medium and large shops. Fortnight's holiday customary in wholesale houses. Salaries reckoned yearly but paid monthly. Dismissal at moment's notice. Larger shops, larger pay. Premiums on sales. Much shifting. Nearly all assistants live on premises in retail trade. Advantages and disadvantages of large and small houses. Food good, but badly cooked. Advance of the single bed system. Conditions harder, but social status higher than servant-class. Rules and fines. Unserved customers. Assistants expected to remain out all Sunday. Young people taken on good behaviour. Best training in small shops. Apprentices boarded and lodged without salary. No finer business training than that received in a draper's shop. Abnormal proportion of Welshmen. Anæmia, indigestion, constipation, and kindred maladies. Necessity of always appearing busy. Early closing movement. Proposal to grade shops and limit hours by grades. Young women like to be served by young men. Matrimony the most hopeful future for female assistants. pp. 67-80.

Hosiers.—Term applied especially to dealers in men's hose. Assistants almost invariably men. Dependence on chance customers. System of extending business. pp. 80-81.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—Only two trade unions. System not approved. Aim to reduce hours of work, to abolish living in, and to obtain fixed meal hours. Number of provident societies. Statistics of earnings. About half the men are little better off than journeymen at 30*s*. Earnings of women compare favourably with other women's industries. Social classification. High standard of comfort as tested by rooms occupied. pp. 81-87.

VOL. III., PART II. FOOD AND DRINK. Chaps. i.-vii., Sections 46-54, pp. 91-238.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT. — Census enumeration by age and sex. Proportion of females employed is large amongst confectionery and tobacco manufacturers, but only exceeds that of men in the case of lodging and coffee-house keepers. Enumeration by families. Social condition. Arrangement in order of apparent poverty. Changes since 1861. Decrease in sugar refining and milling. Increase in baking and confectionery. pp. 91-96.

MILLERS AND SUGAR REFINERS. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. i., sec. 46, pp. 97-114.

Statistics. Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding—Status—Age diagram. Age line corresponds with average for London. p. 97.

Sugar Refiners.—Trade almost dead. Mainly owing to foreign bounties. House of Commons inquiry. Process of work. Melting men, washhouse men, liquor men, charcoal-house men, panmen, centrifugal-machine men, warehouse men. Day and night work by two shifts of twelve hours. pp. 98-101.

Millers.—Trade revolutionized by substitution of roller for stone-milling. A mile travelled by wheat through a hundred machines before becoming flour. Process: Cleaning, scouring, drying, break rolling, scalping. "Dusting the middlings." Smutter-men, silksmen, roller-men, purifier-men. The last two are highly skilled. Attempt of millers' union to enforce a minimum wage. Reduction in hours worked. Overtime still very general. Trade slack in hot weather. No apprenticeship. Trade considered unhealthy. The floating "stive" in cleaning-room inhaled, and men subject to lung diseases. Countrymen preferred to Londoners. Signs of trade revival. Organization weak. pp. 101-108.

Oil Millers.—Keen foreign competition. Process of work. Pressmen. Moulders. Grinders. Parers. Overtime amongst unloaders. Trade busy from September to April. Work can be learnt in a few weeks. Scent of oils good for chest diseases. But unloaders suffer from dusty seeds. Unsuccessful strike for higher pay, but improvement as to overtime, meal-hours, and sanitary arrangements. pp. 108-111.

Oil Refiners and Boilers.—Generally allied with the manufacture of paint. Men unorganized and unusually contented. pp. 111-112.

Manufacturers of Sauces, &c.—Generally in conjunction with jams. Mostly women and lads employed. p. 112.

Wages—Social Condition.—Comparison of earnings and mode of life. pp. 112-114.

BREWERS, MINERAL WATER MAKERS, AND TOBACCO WORKERS. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. ii., secs. 47-48, pp. 115-142.

Statistics of Brewers and Mineral Water Makers (sec. 47). Details of occupation — Enumeration — Distribution — Birthplace — Crowding — Status. Age diagram. p. 115.

Brewers.—About six million barrels brewed and consumed in London per annum. Self-sufficiency of breweries. Absorption of small by large firms. Brewhouse-men, cellarmen, yardmen, coopers, finings makers, draymen, trouncers—essentially brewers' men. Many others, such as sign writers, carpenters, back-makers, &c. &c., employed. Process of brewing. As much machinery and as little hand labour as possible. Running ale brewed one week and drunk the next. Busy during summer and steady until weather becomes very cold, when spirits are preferred. Great regularity of employment. Systems of payment for draymen. Brewers' men, except draymen, are first-class labourers. No regular hours. Work until the work is done. Very long hours and temptations of draymen, trouncers, stablemen, and horsekeepers. Draymen past work at fifty-five. Strength rather than skill required. Countrymen preferred to Londoners. Much cliqueism and jealousy among the men. Failure of trade society. Difficulty of bringing complaints before the principals. Suggested remedy against long hours of draymen. Tied houses. Family brewers. Competition of bottled beer. Brewers' Hall. Limits to competition between members. Meals, dress, and habits. Conditions of work for yardmen, cellarmen, and stagemen. Shop clubs and allowances during sickness. pp. 116-128.

Mineral Waters, &c.—Trade increasing. Steady demand from hotels and clubs. Shops buy from day to day. Men more conscientious as bottle-washers than women. Bottling. Corking. Sighting. Wire spectacles to protect eyes. Danger of filling syphons. Unwillingness of women to take precautions. Ginger-beer manufacture. Replacing cider as a drink. Payment by fixed weekly wages. Piece-work thought to lead to bad work. Overtime in summer. pp. 128-131.

Wages—Social Condition.—Very full returns from brewers. Actual wages paid by two firms for a year. Confirmation of results based on busy and slack weeks. Wages of mineral water makers. Earnings and style of life compared. Families better off than weekly income would imply owing to regularity of work. pp. 132-137.

Statistics of Tobacco (sec. 48). Details of occupation.—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Excess of males over thirty and females between fifteen and twenty. p. 138.

Tobacco-workers (*see also* Vol. IV., Poverty Series, pp. 219-238).—Women employees on the increase, but unfitted as yet for best class of work. Great number of women cigarette makers. New departure in retail trade favourable to consumers. Trade largely recruited from abroad. pp. 138-140.

Trade Organization.—50 per cent. of tobacco workers organized. Men and women admitted by one society. Marked aversion to strikes in the trade. The society secretary recognised as mediator. Failure of co-operative societies. pp. 140-142.

BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. iii., sec. 49, pp. 143-171.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Slight surplus of old and quite young, balanced by deficiency in middle life. p. 143.

Bread Bakers.—Long hours, gas-laden air, bakehouses often ill-ventilated and usually below ground. An industry accustomed to restrictions. The "assize of bread," fixing either price or weight of loaf. Panis Domenicus. Ancient penalties for infringement. Demand for further laws. To-day all household bread must be sold by weight. Consequent temptation to adulterate when flour is dear. pp. 144-146.

Process of manufacture.—Making the sponge, mixing, kneading, and baking. Scotch, Viennese, and English ovens. Unwillingness of bakers to adopt improvements. Description of machine-work in a model factory. pp. 146-149.

Hours of work.—An average week's work in London of from seventy to a hundred hours. Germans and Polish Jews the principal victims of inordinate hours. Work, though not absolutely continuous, a severe strain. Night-work the invariable rule. Conditions conducive to night-work, viz., custom, restricted space of bakehouses, wide area of supply, want of trade organization. Possibility of shortening hours by means of more efficient management, better discipline, use of machinery, and continuous baking, making large quantities, and use of a quick system of fermentation. Difficulties in way of shorter hours not insuperable nor costly, but a change from night to day-work hardly within London's reach. pp. 149-153.

Sanitation.—Grave sanitary deficiencies in small bakehouses. Factory Act of 1895 probably sufficient to cope with evils. pp. 153-156.

Health and capacity.—Great physical strength and endurance demanded of men. Not many last more than twenty years. Complaint of their lack of energy and want of ambition. Prevalence of lung disease and rupture. High rate of mortality. Beneficial effects of machinery; larger buildings, better ovens, quicker fermentation, shorter hours, and usually better pay. pp. 156-158.

Wages, &c.—Lowest wages obtained in East and South London. Skill required to produce bread of uniform quality, and scope for artistic ability in moulding. No systematic training in London. Progress largely due to foreign influences, though latest development (factory system) is English and provincial. pp. 158-160.

Confectioners.—Proportion of six pastry-cooks to one cook and confectioner in London. Bakehouse-confectioners are day-workers, many "ornamentalists" being Italian, French, and Swiss. But Englishmen are rapidly becoming proficient. Trade busy from October to July. Majority of women and girls in wholesale confectionery factories. Work demanding but little skill is poorly remunerated and very irregular. Effect of hot weather on chocolate-making. Christmas and jam seasons. Boiled goods and pan goods. Chocolate creams. Complaints among women of low wages, fines, conduct of foremen and forewomen, lack of accommodation for meals, offensive "pulp-holes," but not in all factories. Danger to employees from bursting jars and starch dust. pp. 160-166.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—22 per cent. organized. *The Journeyman Bakers' Magazine.* Two employers' societies. Relations with men somewhat strained. Masters' and men's pension societies. Wages of men and women. Probability that too high an average is shown by returns printed. pp. 166-171.

MILK-SELLERS. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. iv., sec. 50, pp. 172-187.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Excess of young, but deficiency of middle-aged. p. 172.

Cow-keepers.—All dairymen formerly cow-keepers. The necessity for keeping cows in London obviated by railways and milk-coolers. Since 1870 trade has fallen more and more into the hands of large companies. Advantages and disadvantages of present system. County Council regulations. Large proportion of Welshmen in the milk trade, who alone make it pay on a small scale. Small cow-keepers and Kosher milk in Whitechapel. Cow-men, their duties and low wages. A decaying industry in London. pp. 173-177.

Dairymen.—Large firms with many branches a feature of the trade. Many Welshmen. 103 Jones' as compared with 10 Smiths. Managers, "round" foremen, milk carriers and their earnings. Illegitimate additions to wages. Checked to some extent by the point beyond which dishonesty is not the best policy. Long hours usual partly due to varying characters of men. Punctuality essential. Grievance of cow-men and carriers that they work every day in the year. Holidays in large firms. The way of improvement blocked by the necessity of cows being milked and babies fed. Increased consumption of milk in very hot and very cold weather. West End dairies worked at a loss during two autumn months. Healthy work. Majority of employers are countrymen. General conditions of the trade fairly prosperous. Profits smaller than they were. Competition of the aristocracy in this business. Separated milk and "washing." The cow as an abettor of adulteration. Art and anatto used to remedy natural deficiencies. The extension of retail businesses. Increase of imported milk from Holland and Sweden. pp. 177-185.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition.—Some organization among masters but none among men. Wages statistics. Standard of comfort high though wages small. pp. 185-187.

BUTCHERS AND FISHMONGERS. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. v., sec. 51, pp. 188-213.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Excess of young and old. p. 188.

Butchers and Meat Salesmen.—Meat and fish traced from their entrance into London to their delivery at the householder's door. The London Meat Markets—at the Docks, Islington, Deptford and Smithfield.

An account of the Metropolitan Cattle Market at Islington. Its capacity. Master drovers and journeyman drovers. Competition of Deptford. More drovers than work. The "grass" season and the "Norfolk" season. Drovers begin as "ochre" boys. Corporation licences. Very healthy work. Fear that improvement as to drink is chiefly due to increasing poverty. Slaughtermen and carcase-butchers. Gang work and division of earnings. Dresser, two groundsmen and an offal man in a gang of four. The nature and preparation of Kosher meat. Some shifting between Islington and Deptford. An account of the foreign cattle market at Deptford. Competition of foreign meat. High earnings, irregular work and drunkenness among drovers and slaughtermen. Smithfield market for dead meat. Its tenants mostly commission salesmen. Salesmen, cutters, scalesmen and porters employed. Tips for scalesmen and cutters Sunday joints given to men working in retail shops. Market porters paid by the piece. Money generally shared by two working in co-operation. Employment regular, earnings good, sobriety marked. Hours of work reduced from sixty to fifty-seven. pp. 189-200.

The Retail Trade.—Retail butchers as a rule purveyors only. Great variations in wages. Blood and bladders as perquisites. Employees generally boarded and lodged. Trade not seasonal except in West End. pp. 200-201.

Training of Butchers.—Apprenticeship almost extinct in London though not unusual in the country. The best butchers are in consequence countrymen. Formerly butchers, though more drunken and less respectable, were better workmen. Ability as salesmen the chief requisite in the foreign trade. pp. 201-202.

General condition of the trade.—Decrease of private slaughter-houses and increased import of dead meat. Probable gain to the community in spite of trade protests. Importance of moving slowly in order to give time for readjustment. Trade generally prosperous and competent men seldom out of work. Foreign meat passed off as English. pp. 202-204.

Poulterers.—Leadenhall market the wholesale trade centre. Salesmen, poulterers, and boys employed. Little necessity for stamina or strength and Londoners therefore employed. No licensed porters. Winter busiest. Long hours and extra men at Christmas. pp. 204-205.

Pork Butchers and Provision Merchants. — Opposition to early closing on the ground of driving customers to the public house. Many Germans employed. (No particulars as to the sausage trade obtained.) pp. 205-206.

Meat-Essence Manufacturers.—Much female labour employed. Particulars as to one factory only. p. 206.

Fishmongers.—Billingsgate. Fish sent by land and sea in "trunks" and "machines." Consigned to commission salesmen. Salesmen and licensed porters. Piece-work. Men often cease work after earning a fair day's wage. Sunday work for foremen, Work regular. Some drinking among porters. Noticeable absence of bad language in the market itself. Tendency to heart disease and baldness among porters. The speculative "bummaree." Failure of the competing fish markets Columbia and Shadwell. The alleged Billingsgate ring pp. 206-210.

Retail Fishmongers.—Hours and wages. More fish eaten in summer than winter. p. 210.

Haddock-curers.—Day and night work. Saturday a holiday, but Sunday not. Men both drunken and improvident. Colonies of curers in Bethnal Green and Camberwell. Trade brisk in winter. As the poor are the chief consumers, business depends on plentiful supply and cheap price of fish. pp. 210-211.

Organization—Wages—Social Condition. — Master fishmongers and butchers organized, but men not. Comparison of earnings with style of life. pp. 211-213.

GROCERS, OIL AND COLOURMEN. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. vi., sec. 52, pp. 214-229.

Statistics. Details of occupation—Enumeration—Distribution—Birthplace—Crowding—Status. Age diagram. Excess of young men. p. 214.

Wholesale Grocers.—Only clerks and warehousemen employed. Tendency towards substitution of women's labour. Fifty-four hours a normal week. Busy during last quarter of the year. Trade more regular than formerly owing to more varied character of goods supplied. Custom for warehousemen to live and board on premises extinct. Shorter hours and better pay, with marked improvement of manners and morals. pp. 215-216.

Retail Grocers.—Great overlapping with other businesses. Change in character of articles supplied. Trade unorganized and great diversity in wages paid. Average for out-boarders probably 25*s*, and 14*s* for in-boarders. Tendency to rebel against custom of living in. Washing of shirts and aprons a heavy item. Hours very long, for which the public is mainly responsible. Retailers do not prepare their goods, and are now mere salesmen. Holidays usual. Summer slack and Christmas busy. Apprenticeship dying. Dependence of grocer on the wholesale house and its travellers. Preponderance of young men to suit customers' preference. Older men become travellers. Social rank higher than that of all other shop assistants, except drapers. Great cutting of prices by stores, &c. Probability of future monopoly of business by quite large or very small houses. pp. 216-221.

Tea and Coffee Dealers.—With exception of tea-tasters the men employed in wholesale trade are warehousemen. Tea blending. Some women packers and labellers at low wages. Great regularity. Coffee roasters and their work. Marked decrease in sale of coffee during summer. pp. 221-223.

Cocoa Manufacturers.—Cocoa berries roasted, winnowed, broken, and ground. Large proportion of work performed by women. Summer slack. p. 223.

Oil and Colourmen.—Nature of business extension. Wages rather higher, and hours rather longer than in grocery business, but employees socially lower. pp. 223-224.

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Domestic Indoor Servants.—Out of 205,500 servants, 65,000 are in families with one, 52,000 in families with two, 30,000 in families with three, and 49,000 in families with four or more. Table showing proportion of servants to served in households where one or two are kept; in 30 per cent. of single-handed places one has to serve six or more. Female domestic servants are divided into three main groups: (*a*) Roughest single-handed places; (*b*) Better-class one-servant situations; (*c*) Middle and upper class households, with two or more servants. pp. 212-213.

Single-handed Places.—Lowest grade nearly always young novices coming from labouring homes; second grade, children of artisans. Spirit of independence in these classes. Dulness of single-handed places a severe trial; stipulation for a whole holiday in each month. Many of lower class come from workhouse schools. Metropolitan Association for

Befriending Young Servants; its return as to wages of 1692 servants of lower grade; analysis thereof. pp. 213-218.

Servants in wealthy households.—Cook, parlour-maid, housemaid, kitchen-maid, scullery-maid, nurse, lady's-maid. Promotion. Costume. Sleeping accommodation and living rooms. Food, usually very good; specimen bill of fare. Dulness and monotony of life; demand for more Sundays and evenings out and monthly holiday. Character. Wages: table showing the average wage earned by 678 servants at various ages; earnings steadily increase with age up to middle life, and average wages rise from those in single-handed places to those where five or more are kept. Table showing the average wage and age of the same 678 servants arranged according to their position in household from general servant to cook-housekeeper. Comparison of wages in West, North, South and East. Advertisement sheets of papers show rather lower scale of wages offered. pp. 218-224.

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Men Servants.—Their gradual disappearance from all but the wealthiest households: want of adaptability. Steward's boy, footman, valet, butler, steward, hall-porter. Complaints of confinement of life and bad sleeping quarters. Drinking and betting. The etiquette of servants; curious customs; upper and lower servants will not mix socially. Increasing prevalence of board wages throughout the year. pp. 227-230.

Organization very weak. p. 230.

Inn, Hotel, and Club Service.—Club servants and those in first-class hotels and restaurants. Wages and tips; the greater the tips the lower the wages. Foreign restaurants and large modern hotels employ foreigners exclusively; they usually have to pay their employer, and also bear cost of breakages, fines, washing, &c. Hours always long. Among English waiters especially there is a wide fringe of casual labour. "Tea leaves." English waiter being rapidly supplanted by foreigners who will work for less wages, and are better educated and trained. But English tea rooms, with English waitresses, have greatly curtailed trade of older foreign restaurants. Chef. Carver. Clerk. Steward. Butler. Hall-porter. Page-boys. pp. 231-236.

Barmaids and Waitresses.—Long hours in bar—from seventy to one hundred a week. A barmaid's working day. Hours of waitresses in tea rooms shorter. Table showing hours in 587 licensed and temperance houses. Wages: table of 428 cases. Gratuities. pp. 236-239.

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Lodge, Gate, and Park-keepers.—Park-superintendent, park-foremen, constabulary staff, caretakers in gardens. pp. 244-246.

Hospital and Institution Service.—Medical staff. Servants: Ward-maid, scrubber, housemaid, laundress. Table showing wages of 2162 servants in hospitals. pp. 246-251.

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Washing and Bathing Service.—Nothing in common between these,

but grouped together in census. *Washing Service* comprises three great groups of employees. (1) Washers; (2) Ironers; (3) Packers and sorters. pp. 254-255.

Washers.—In large laundries washing mostly done by machines attended by men; in hand laundries only female washers, with exception of dolly-man. Washing usually confined to two or three days a week. pp. 255-256.

Ironers form far the larger proportion of workers in the trade; are skilled workers, and require much teaching and experience. Best ironers and plain ironers. Ironing by machinery only possible for plain articles. Shirt ironing the highest branch of the trade, and in this hand labour not likely to be superseded. Day-work general rule, but piece-work becoming more common, as on the whole it is more lucrative to employer and employed. Work not general for more than four days a week. Calenderers usually girls. pp. 256-257.

Packers, Sorters, &c.—Packers and sorters are of higher social grade; addressed as "Miss"; their work demands intelligence and better education; usually weekly hands. Preparer: link between washer and ironer. Dryer. Folders, usually girls. Manglers, usually male. Women who take in mangling at home. pp. 257-258.

Earnings and the Factory Act.—Full statistics of earnings in large and small steam laundries for busy and slack week. Details as to wages in large hand laundry. Effect of Factory Act on earnings. The present (1896) a period of transition owing to recent passing of Factory Act. Conditions of work before Act. Working day of women (exclusive of ma'e:) may still extend to 15½ hours. Difficulty of working the Act, chiefly owing to lack of consideration on part of public, and to the need of clean clothes for Sunday. Possibility of female labour being ousted. Large laundries send work to smaller ones, which are often exempt from inspection. Sanitary requirements of Act. Desirability of gradually eliminating the small home laundries. pp. 259-264.

Busy and Slack Seasons, how they affect earnings. pp. 264-265.

Apprenticeship to ironing unusual, but signs of revival. System generally adopted. Great difficulty of getting skilled hands. p. 265.

General Remarks.—Independent spirit of workers; employment not difficult to obtain. Masters complain of unpunctuality and irregularity, but this partly due to number of workers who have home duties to attend to; large proportion of married women among laundresses, many of whom are chief support of home. Drinking habits; beer often part of payment. Wages should be paid weekly instead of daily. Laundresses abnormally subject to consumption and rheumatism. Organization started in 1890, but since collapsed. pp. 265-267.

Bathing Service.—Most of employees under municipal authorities. Wide range of wages and hours. Superintendent and matron. Male and female attendants. Towel-washers. Wages and tips. Duties generally light, but hours long. Men not generally in favour of shorter hours unless rate of pay increased. Part of staff generally dismissed in winter. Turkish baths. Shampooers. Wages small, but large revenue from tips. Hours in some cases long, but actual period of active work short; enforced idleness during great part of day detrimental to the men. Employment slack during August and September. Work healthy. Men said to be improvident. Drink. Turkish bathing declining in London, especially on Sunday, owing chiefly to bicycles and golf. pp. 267-270.

Charwomen.—Rate of pay per day. Government largest employer on weekly wages. Return as to nearly eight hundred in institutions. Women who depend on private work probably do not work more than two or three days in week. pp. 270-271

Hair Dressers and Wig Makers.—Connection between barbers and surgeons in olden times. Sharp distinction between barbers and hairdressers. pp. 271-273.

Hairdressers.—Great range of wages. Few tips from ladies. Apprenticeship still the rule rather than exception, but supplemented by technical schools, of which there are several in London. pp. 273-274.

Barbers.—Earnings vary much according to class of shop; augmented generally by tips. Hours, especially in small trade, exceedingly long. Sunday trading always a vexed question in the trade; endeavours, ancient and modern, to stop it. Regularity. Pressure on Saturday and Sunday necessitates a number of men who work only for two days. Apprenticeship still usual, but declining. Difficulty in obtaining work after middle life. High rate of mortality difficult to account for. Large proportion of foreigners, especially Germans. pp. 274-279.

Wig Makers.— Three classes: Street-work, theatrical, and legal. Mounter. Knotter. Chiefly women's work. pp. 279-280.

Organization.—A plethora of societies, but not well supported. pp. 280-282.

Chimney Sweeps.—Numerous Acts of Parliament dealing with trade, aimed chiefly at abolition of system of climbing boys. Majority of sweeps neither employer nor employed, but work on own account. Journeymen, as a rule, work only in City and West End. Hours vary, but seldom long. Business at a standstill in summer, and when trade is busy outsiders flock in. Mortality high: alcoholism; "sooty cancer"; but latter said to be disappearing, owing to greater cleanliness. Great temptations to drink. Trade in bad condition; excessive competition of outsiders; low value of soot. Gas and oil stoves. Carpet-beating no longer combined with chimney-sweeping. pp. 282-288.

VOL IV., PART III. THE UNOCCUPIED CLASSES.

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The Unoccupied are heads of families who return themselves as wife, widow, spinster, single, pensioner, retired, living on own means, &c. Include some of the poorest as well as the richest. They and their families number 455,000. Table showing sample of 75,000 taken from twelve districts in different parts of London. Table showing constitution of families: family is on average fully one less than with occupied classes. Average number of servants is far greatest with spinsters. Table showing social condition of families; some sections without rich, but none without poor; social position of those living on own means, according to locality. Table showing proportions of unoccupied heads of families born in and out of London; bears out general view that the more successful are largely country-born. pp. 291-297.

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OCCUPATIONS. Vol. IV., Pt. IV., chap. i., pp. 301-310.

The total of inmates of hotels, common lodging-houses, large shops, and institutions amounts to 157,771. p. 301.

Poor Law Establishments.—Inmates amount to 43,000. Table showing occupation or former occupation of inmates of workhouses, casual wards, and Poor Law infirmaries. High percentage of pauperism among seamstresses, street-sellers, and silk-weavers. Omitting exceptional cases, the range is from 4 per cent. for dock, wharf, and other labour, to about ½ per cent. for municipal and professional service and commercial clerks. pp. 302-306.

Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons.—Table showing occupations or former occupations of inmates of hospitals, lunatic asylums, and prisons. Seamen, lightermen, and railway servants have largest proportions in hospitals; professional classes and municipal service largest proportion in asylums. pp. 307-308.

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Third Series: Religious Influences

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Generally a marked increase in vigour of religious effort in North-West London: great variety offered: great congregations: some instances of this. Dr. Horton and Dr. Monro Gibson. Failure the exception. Few working class in churches or district: such as there are dependent on rich: too much philanthropic work. The opinion of the minister of a small Christian sect on this point. The securing of religious influence not the only motive of unwise charity but always present: this hinders effective

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VOLUME II

(*Third Series: Religious Influences*)

LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES. THE INNER RING.

[*Date of Inquiry in this District:* 1898]

WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.

Chap. i., pp. 3-66.

Sec. i. Changes.—The whole of this district affected by increase of Jewish population: Gentiles cannot live with poor foreign Jews: hence each street invaded tends to become wholly Jewish; very great crowding results, and indescribable dirt. Rise of house and land values. Jewish influence everywhere discernible: instances of this. Changes due to structural and industrial causes: clearances made for business and sanitary reasons: proximity of City: waterside employment moved further down the river: all these changes still in operation: they have greatly affected the religious and philanthropic work of the district. pp. 3-7.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 5, 6.

Not the whole truth to say that Jews have ousted original inhabitants, nor where they have done so does the community necessarily suffer: sometimes recognised that they are 'moral scavengers.' The religious life of the Jews: their religion a matter of birth and heritage even more than belief. Attempts at conversion to Christianity a general failure: immense sums spent with practically no result: the convert requires financial assistance, which it is not fair to call bribery: there may be some genuine conversions. A Jewish convert the best missioner to Jews: he can base his appeal on their own scriptures. A congregation of baptized Jews found here: said to be the only one in Europe. Poor foreign Jews, though ignorant of religious history, are well read in their own sacred books. The attitude of the clergy on the Jewish question: some abandon all idea of conversion; others fling themselves upon the task; but most are half-hearted, recognising that no good comes of the attempts, that the missions breed a contemptible and hypocritical spirit, and that the genuine converts are usually poor specimens: they recognise, too, the prior claim of the unconverted and unconvinced Gentile population. The richer Jews generally look after their own poor: the Jewish Board of Guardians: but poor Jews ready to take advantage of any source of relief. Loans free of interest granted by their own Board of Guardians: complaints that this is unfair to other traders: but does not seriously demoralize. Divisions among the Jews: divided by ritual, strict or lax interpretation of law and nationality. Besides English there are Dutch, German, Polish and Russian Jews: all prosper and tend gradually to become Anglicized. Dispute as to whether concentration or dispersion is best: two views among their leaders: concentration favours the strict keeping of their religious observances: dispersion brings them under wider influences of English life: from English point of view dispersion undoubtedly best: no fear of Jews if they do not come too fast or concentrate too solidly: they only temporarily increase pressure of poverty and lower standard of life: but they do aggravate difficulties of administration, especially with regard to overcrowding. pp. 6-11.

Efforts for amelioration of lot of poor largely concentrated upon this

district: often complained of as receiving more than its share: it has no monopoly of need, as is more and more recognised, but there is no withdrawal of public support. pp. 11, 12.

Sec. ii. Spitalfields.—With the Spitalfields parishes we include All Saints' and St. Olave's, Mile End New Town, and parts of St. Matthias' and St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green. The inhabitants mainly Jews: in some parishes seventy-five per cent. or more. Effect on the churches less than might be expected, for those who have left hardly more responsive than those who have come. The Nonconformists, who depend on the small tradesmen, have suffered more than the Church: a number of their chapels turned into synagogues. Churches practically empty on Sunday morning: in the evening small congregations: very few men attend: the life and work of each church is the life and work of its clergy and a small body of attached people: number of communicants large in proportion to congregation. The organization and action of St. Mary's, Spitalfields, described in detail: hard devoted work, successful in its way. Christ Church has an even more impossible task: its population when not Jewish is the lowest conceivable class of English: details of the work: a mission service for the destitute. St. Olave's: a still larger proportion of Jews: scanty congregations. Mission work in the common lodging-houses: free breakfasts of coffee and bread and butter on Sunday: practically no attempt at selection: an after breakfast service: here and there a new comer to the life may be given a fresh chance: but the general effect is to facilitate the existence of the unfit. Services in the lodging-house kitchens: only three common lodging-houses in East London where no such meetings are held, and these discontinued because of animated theological wrangling. The inaugurator of these missions on their humanizing influence: speaks of the audiences as attentive: but ocular evidence against this: religious services accepted rather with good-humoured indifference: the religious value of these meetings lies in their effect on the workers rather than their audience. One surviving Congregational church in Mile End New Town: a fairly active centre of religious life, but talks of removal to suburbs: congregation mainly from some distance. The King Edward Ragged School and Mission, one of the great undenominational missions of the East End, which had their origin in ragged schools before the Education Act: pioneers in the field of public begging: a list of some of the operations (thirty-two in number) at King Edward Mission: excepting independence almost every virtue inculcated. The long list of operations is to encourage the givers of money: makes the most of everything, but much is really done: the aim is 'the improvement of the material and spiritual welfare of the poor.' The result from the religious point of view is the gathering together of a small band of adherents and workers, in this case drawn largely from those among whom they work: the head himself originally a poor child in the school. The religious gatherings small: only Sunday schools and mothers' meetings large. Apart from work among children the result is the exercise of more than common amount of organized kindness and charitable assistance: they hope by succouring the body to soften the heart for reception of the Gospel. They seek to gather in those who 'know not Christ,' but attract rather earnest Christians who have failed to find satisfaction elsewhere. Easy but unjust to ascribe low motives: but they and other great missionary enterprises should beware of the spirit of exaggeration. But full recognition of the pure and Christian spirit of this mission. Bedford Institute carries on a large amount of social and philanthropic work, combined with some religious activity: the leading feature a First-day school. pp. 12-24.

Sec. iii. Whitechapel.—The parishes of St. Mary, St. Jude, and

St. Mark, Whitechapel, with St. Augustine, Stepney, share with those of Spitalfields the common lodging-houses and the Jews. St. Mary's, the parish church, an active centre of evangelization, maintains fair congregations: many, especially workers, come from further East: the poor difficult to reach, spoilt in the past: overlapping of agencies. St. Mark's: mainly Jews: little to justify existence as separate parish: daily service for men in a 'refuge.' St. Jude's: a very small parochial element: no longer connected with Toynbee Hall: the most distinctive feature of the work the Worship Hour. St. Augustine's, Stepney: overrun by Jews: but the church the centre of very active work on the most advanced High Church lines: the success shows what a man of great energy and uncompromising principles, with a large staff of workers and free use of sensational methods, may accomplish under adverse circumstances: money spent freely, but the influence mainly due to a vigorous personality: the church filled and a firm hold secured on some five hundred East-End people drawn from this and other parishes. pp. 24-26.

A Strict Baptist Chapel in Great Alie Street: strong contrast to St. Augustine's: its congregation from almost everywhere except immediate neighbourhood: some stay all day on Sunday: the congregation bound together by the strictness and exclusiveness of their doctrine and the terms of Church membership: cannot unite with other neighbouring congregations which are "Strict" but not "Particular." A Congregationalist and one or two other churches just manage to exist, drawing their people from a distance. George Yard Mission and Mr. Holland: the mission started as ragged school: much added, but ragged school remains: children of a very poor type from the constantly shifting crowd around: they are much helped, and the assistance given tends to become a permanent barrier to improvement. Much ordinary and some extraordinary mission work: a long list of 'operations' could be drawn up: something for everyone: the object aimed at, 'Christian sympathy': this the keynote: all well intentioned, but a heavy atmosphere of the combination of religion with relief. St. Philip's parish: Jews rapidly ousting Christians: otherwise none of the elements of Whitechapel: the Church of England not much affected by the change of population: those who have left are no more adherents than those who remain. St. Philip's little known, but well fitted to be the Cathedral of East London. pp. 26-30.

Sec. iv. St. George's in the East, Wapping and Shadwell.—The limit of Jewish invasion reached in St. John's: but here running strong: twenty years ago hardly any Jews: now 70 per cent. The church has a small attached congregation, most of whom have formerly been parishioners: the vicar's interesting Bible-class. The rest of the district under the influence of river, docks, and wharves. St. George's in the East parish church: great energy: organizations complete and successful: a large congregation brought together by the steady work of an able man: five hundred communicants: may here be truly said, 'though few are grasped, all are touched': two churches, but the second a failure as place of worship. Christ Church, St. Mary's, St. Paul's, Shadwell, and St. Paul's, Whitechapel, try by various plans to reach the people, but mostly in vain. pp. 30-32.

The Nonconformist churches in difficulties, but not wiped out as in Spitalfields. Wycliffe Chapel holds almost cathedral position among Congregationalists: sticks to old-fashioned methods. Ebenezer Congregational Church in Watney Street now practically a mission church. Baptists in Commercial Road more successful; nearly fill their church with congregation of serious minded lower middle and working class. The exodus of

the middle class most seriously felt by the Wesleyans: but they have faced the situation, abandoned the three years' rule, and adopted mission methods. The East London Wesleyan Mission: a fifteen years' history: three large churches used, and several mission centres established in old drinking or dancing saloons: Paddy's Goose and Mahogany Bar: a large staff but insufficient for work undertaken: the churches fairly filled, and all have a large number of members drawn mainly from lower middle and working class people: hardly any resource that is not tried to serve and save the people: but special work lies with ragged children of streets: the system adopted gives a great deal of life to religion, but the most powerful religious influence exerted takes the shape of a reaction on the lives of the workers. pp. 32-34.

Wapping: an island with a separate life of its own: here little crime or open profligacy, but much heavy drinking: people mostly connected with docks or shipping. St. John's parish: a large proportion Roman Catholics. St. Peter's, London Docks: one of the most concentrated and distinctive pieces of parochial work in London: the realization, so far as it can be realized, of the High Church ideal of a parish of devout communicants: an almost complete circle of parish organizations: something for every age and both sexes: money spent freely and charges of bribery made, perhaps not without reason: the brooding care of the vicar for his parish: but the individual soul his especial care: illness or accident a godsend as breaking down the barriers: but as at St. Augustine's, it is not the money nor the doctrine but a personality which has won success: but its value difficult to measure. Comparison between great spending churches and great spending missions. St. James', Ratcliff: a rough neighbourhood where all sects live side by side in harmony: a broad spirit shown and responded to: the acknowledged aim of the Church to connect and hold together a band of men and women who shall devote their lives to the social improvement of the people. pp. 34-37.

Sec. v. The Roman Catholics.—Six Catholic mission churches in this district: they touch the poorest, and to give freely is their rule, yet it is these poor people whose contributions support the church. St. Mary and St. Michael in Commercial Road, the original mission church: has a powerful organization: 10 o'clock Mass the most crowded, and attended by the poorest: priests complain of irregularity and indifference, but the comparison with Protestant churches most favourable, and the attendance not bought: due to genuine religious feeling and belief in divine authority of Church and priesthood. St. Patrick's, Wapping: Roman Catholic population of 2500: a poor church, and nothing done outside the services and sacraments of the Church: nothing given, a contrast with its neighbour, St. Peter's. The Church of the English Martyrs, Great Prescott Street: has a branch of the Catholic Social Union: complaints of religious bribery. Priests all refer to difficulty in retaining young men. Danger of mixed marriages. The poor Irish Catholics careless but naturally devout: not possible to trace any persistent moral or material improvement in their lives. The German Catholics in Union Street, Whitechapel: their church filled twice on Sunday: their remarkable bachelors' club. pp. 38-41.

Sec. vi. Charitable Agencies.—Some great charitable agencies connected with this district, in which the idea of religion is kept somewhat in the background: this so locally even with the Salvation Army, which now is of little importance here as religious influence: has turned its energies rather towards the social wing. Shelters: Salvation Army: a Roman Catholic shelter: Medland Hall: these institutions tend to foster and increase the class they serve: public policy to insist on a high standard of accommodation: the original idea was that whatever accom-

modation men were eager to accept must be better than what they would otherwise have to endure: but the argument is delusive: difficulty of selection arises if accommodation is made in the least attractive: it can perhaps best be met by co-operation between private charity and the Poor Law. Attempts to improve the character of common lodging-houses by such competition as that of the Victoria Homes or the Poor Man's Metropole fall into line with the policy of selection: their object to provide for 4*d* something better than the average 'fourpenny doss': but best in this matter to avoid any display of religion. Dr. Barnardo's work conceived on higher lines: the greatest charitable institution in London: few charities in favour of which so much and against which so little can be said: Dr. Barnardo has carried to perfection the art of public appeal for funds, and secures income of £150,000 a year. The dangers of begging: Mr. Atkinson: an expert in begging by advertisement: his position almost that of a voluntary charity agent: all very honestly but not wisely done. pp. 42-48.

Feeding of the poor, and especially poor children, very prevalent here: at most schools free breakfasts and dinners for necessitous children: probably this must be done in some way, but question if this is the best way: very often there is food at home, but the supply is irregular or the mothers neglectful: the home life impossible for children who have to attend school at stated hours: feeding systematized to some extent by School Board, and if well organized and carried out on a large scale would become a useful adjunct to school life, and involve no charity except to those who had tickets given them. The wholesale distribution of soup gratis, or at nominal price, much more questionable: fitted for emergencies only, but missions act as if need was chronic: this form of charity due to the religious motive: but so far from bringing the people into sympathy with religion has the opposite effect. pp. 48-50.

Sec. vii. Other Methods.—The religious and philanthropic efforts greater here than in any other part, but much that is done causes harm rather than good, and men turn to other efforts. This the scene of a great experiment in the reform of the Poor Law on the anti-out-relief side: the men responsible Mr. John Jones, Mr. Vallance, Mr. Crowder, and Mr. Albert Pell: their aim to combat by every means in their power the tendency of the poor to depend on rates, their main lever the denial of out-relief: the district suitable for the system, which had help of unexampled flood of private benevolence, and close co-operation of Charity Organization Society. Complete success achieved in reducing out-relief without corresponding increase in in-door relief: but the example is not followed elsewhere, and even here is in risk of abandonment. Tested by condition of people no great improvement: fewer paupers, but no fewer who rely on charity in some form. But there is success, in that the influence of the ideas of the reformers can be traced all over London: so, too, in private charity, the broad principle of the Charity Organization Society which recognises the responsibility of the giver for the ulterior consequences of charitable gifts is more and more generally accepted. pp. 50-53.

Of general influences making for amelioration the greatest is elementary education: to this such softening of manners as exists is mainly to be traced: but here, too, are disappointments, as with the religious bodies: the gospel of the educationalist not so successful as he had hoped: though something is gradually won: reading may become difficult and writing a lost art, but habits of cleanliness and order are formed, and a higher standard of dress and decency attained, and this reacts upon the home: the power for good in the influence of masters and teachers is also very great: they are a missionary band of extraordinary value, whose efforts the Churches ought to welcome. pp. 53-55.

Toynbee Hall: its birth and growth: has never connected itself with any political party or religious school: the keynote freedom of individual thought: by this Toynbee gains and loses: a definite platform would produce more visible effect without, but less within: the object to bring thought and sympathy to bear on the conditions of life in a working-class and poor neighbourhood: these objects largely attained: indirect influence also very considerable: perhaps its greatest achievement that it has caused many people in many parts of the world to consider and seek to think out and apply afresh for themselves the old ideas of 'neighbourliness and goodwill' and 'civic duty.' Toynbee Hall, in addition to much other work, connected with all local efforts for improved administration: and has done much to teach the teachers. Sometimes attacked as irreligious, but the attack is unjust. pp. 55-58.

Sec. viii. Local Government.—Parts of district as old as 1600: all have traditions of long occupancy: no mushroom growth: the general street plan unchanged for fifty years since Commercial Street was built: here on sites of old courts the bulk of the block dwellings have been built. In Whitechapel a few small shopkeepers and master men live, but speaking generally, the population is working class. In St. George's the level is even more flat and dead: Whitechapel lively, but in St. George's monotony reigns: changes in labour conditions here tend to uniformity; but though more monotonous, more respectable. pp. 58-60.

In both parishes overcrowding the main difficulty. Many of the new buildings by no means admirable: multiplication of block dwellings creates authorized crowding. The most unsatisfactory spots invariably due to bad landlords, against whom, when the occupiers, too, desire to evade the law, the authorities are almost powerless. But though clearances and rebuilding may have aggravated crowding, the general effect has been good. The large number of poor common lodging-houses adds to the difficulties. Clergy do not like to offend parishioners by taking action. The evil generally crowding rather than insanitation. Consensus of opinion as to disadvantages of block dwellings: bear especially hard on child life, and need the mitigation of open spaces, of which there are few. Apart from crowded dwellings health conditions good. Public baths and other public buildings and enterprises. pp. 60-63.

Limehouse has still a good deal of old bad property on river frontage: though some of the worst spots removed, and two considerable schemes of demolition in progress. A public mortuary the only municipal building: but number of small gardens: and streets well kept. p. 63.

Sec. ix. Summary.—Influences making for improvement, and each generation more ready to form and respond to livelier and healthier public opinion. A process of tinkering rather than revolution: the further we go back the more evident the improvement. Still a *residuum*, and more uniform poverty with increased crowding, but the beneficial influences more than counteract the maleficent. Poverty now less extreme, but more uniform. The constituents of the population here and the influences brought to bear on them: the failure more apparent than the success, but the success lies deeper than the failure. pp. 64-66.

BETHNAL GREEN, HAGGERSTON, AND PART OF SHOREDITCH. Vol. II., chap. ii., pp. 67-103.

Sec. i. The Boundary Street Area.—North of Great Eastern Railway we pass into another world, a different moral atmosphere: the people more independent but rougher mannered, and their poverty greater. The old Nichol Street neighbourhood was a district of almost solid poverty and low life, and offered a good opportunity for rebuilding

on an entirely new plan, and this done by the L. C. C.: the result was a great disturbance of a population who, for the most part, however, remain in the neighbourhood, but not in the new buildings, which are too expensive and too orderly for them: the buildings inhabited by a new class, largely Jews, while the old inhabitants have overrun the neighbouring poor streets, bringing with them poverty, dirt, disorder, and increase of crowding. The intention here was to build improved dwellings for a low class of people: the result to bring in an entirely different class: the scheme weighed down by expense, and an aim less exalted and more practical would have been of greater advantage to neighbourhood: but a net benefit has undoubtedly resulted. The destruction of an area of bad property requires exceptional amount of care in the control of adjacent poor streets, that deterioration may be prevented as far as possible. pp. 67-72.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 69, 70.

Religion in this area.—The Congregationalists have mission and large ragged school: missionary does not claim any marked spiritual results, but recognises an effort towards improved appearance. Miss Macpherson's Mission: large Sunday schools, and special classes for young men and women. A Baptist mission: its work carried on mainly among a class above the lowest, but good work is done. Church of England: Mr. Osborne Jay's famous club and church: those who attend the church not numerous, but form a genuine congregation of quite poor people. Mr. Jay's greatest effort directed to the club: his aim to penetrate the lives of his people: a real effort to take the Church to these people, who certainly will not come to the Church. Said to be a diminution of brutality here. St. Philip's divides with Mr. Jay's parish the demolished area, and has suffered in numbers at church and schools: the clergy say the district was never so bad as painted, though desperately poor: the work here practically confined to children. St. Hilda's Women's Settlement: active and well-conducted, with simple, sober, unsensational methods. pp. 72-76.

Sec. ii. Other parts of Bethnal Green.—Ecclesiastically Bethnal Green unfortunate in the past: churches 'dumped down' without real demand, and much absenteeism and apathy: but great change in recent years. St. Paul's and St. Matthias' worked in a painstaking manner, and at St. Matthew's exceptional energy: the methods of the present Bishop of London as rector: parties for men: religious census showed only one in eighty went to church or chapel: systematic visiting: fair congregations. Of the other parishes between Bethnal Green Road and Hackney Road all are empty, and the attitude of the people is one of complete indifference: but everywhere it is claimed that the few touched, and especially the communicants, are real Christians, ready to face ridicule and scoffing. In all these parishes the services well given. St. James the Great: a scandal, now abated: marriages formerly the only activity: a new start now made. Unitarians and Friends: their work here of a mission character, but little response won. A Wesleyan mission in St. Thomas' parish: overflowing with energy: has brought large congregations to a deserted church. Congregationalists pursue their old ways though their supporters are leaving the neighbourhood. The Baptists fill their great tabernacle in Hackney Road, Sunday morning and evening: supporters drawn from lower middle and upper working class mainly to north of this district: a band of workers, three hundred strong, several mission centres, and huge Sunday schools. Successful Congregational methods here applied to the working classes, but with the Baptists the congregational life concentrated more absolutely on religion and admits less of diversion: the doctrines and

practices of the Baptists exhibit an unusual sternness, and their buildings are without religious sentiment or architectural charm: they are only roused by religious questions. Shoreditch Branch of the Protestant Alliance concerned at the spread of Ritualistic rites and doctrines in the churches here: but their fears unfounded: from religion generally the people hold aloof: the authority of the Church and the confessional have no attraction. pp. 76-83.

In parishes to north of Bethnal Green Road the people are hard working and respectable, and not so very poor, but largely spoilt by misguided charity. In the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Bartholomew the relations of the Church with the people show improvement: they regard each other with indulgence and kindly appreciation: a tendency here to cater for a superior class by more rigorous relief methods: the result is increased respect and increased respectability: they claim that things are moving in the right direction, however slowly: all adopt the system of selecting out of schools and clubs the members of the guilds, who may form a church nucleus: this gives more permanence to the work: stress also laid upon the vigorous character of the religion which stands firm against fashion of non-church-going: pointed out that Church through parochial system occupies a place Nonconformists cannot fill: its services demanded at baptism, marriage, after child-birth, and at death. The Christian Community has its headquarters in St. Andrew's: it does little work here, but organizes extensive scheme of mission services in various parts of London: conducts here the Bethnal Green Free Library, which has served a useful purpose, but issues exaggerated reports. pp. 83-86.

Sec. iii. Oxford House.—Has maintained from the first a strong though liberal High Church attitude, and in addition to its other work has had something distinctive in the mission preaching of its first three heads: but the result of religious propaganda insecure, and for this reason perhaps the settlement was for a time attached to St. Matthew's parish. But its special work as a settlement has been directed to the promotion and management of clubs, of which there are three important ones: Oxford House Club, University Club, and the Webbe Institute. In effort to maintain a high character these clubs tend to rise in the social scale; and the rising standard may carry with it some of the members: but a strong club influence cannot exist with a constant change of *personnel*, which is the case particularly with the University Club: admitted also, that such clubs are too large for personal acquaintance. But the educational value not to be despised: and Oxford House has at least accomplished the difficult feat of club management without beer or betting, or the other evils which ruin many working men's clubs. The secret of success lies in making each club the centre of numerous minor activities. There is little that is local about such organizations: the clubs of Oxford House take little part in the amelioration of the conditions of life in Bethnal Green. pp. 86-88.

Sec. iv. Religious work in Haggerston and part of Shoreditch—In the churches of St. Stephen, St. Augustine, St. Mary, St. Chad, St. Columba, and St. Michael, Shoreditch, we have a crescendo of Ritualistic and Romish practices: they provide an excellent test of the value of High Church work. In St. Augustine's is the 'Priory,' headquarters in London of the Sisters of St. Margaret, East Grinstead: twenty-eight Sisters live here, and work in adjoining parishes: thirteen work in St. Augustine's, and to a great extent are responsible for the parish organization: the extensive scale of their work, of which the greater part is primarily social. Much is hoped, but little result is claimed: from the strictly religious point of view failure is frankly admitted: small congregations in the church, mostly women and children, but four hundred names

on communicants' roll; the influence of the Church may be deep, but it is restricted. St. Mary's draws a congregation from outside, and within devotes great efforts to children: the careful administration of charitable relief. St. Stephen's neglected by the public: the multiplication of services denounced: the religious attitude reported as one of complete indifference and apathy. St. Columba's: social agencies unimportant: the work definitely and exclusively religious: the population low and criminal; ritual and teaching of the most extreme character: every device adopted to strengthen the spiritual hold over those who are reached: confession the corner-stone of the structure: a large proportion of the workers found locally: whether good or bad, the methods fail to touch the people: the result is a work of personal influence exercised upon a limited number of impressionable souls. The Nonconformists in Haggerston: three missions but no regular churches. Congregationalist mission: speak of indifference and poverty as the characteristics of the people: have a Band of Hope, said to be the largest in London: great efforts made towards teetotalism. An Evangelical mission which struggles with the High Church for the souls and bodies of the children: dole *versus* dole, and treat *versus* treat: apart from this good work is done: the Band of Love and Service and Bible-class for boys of the lowest type. Mr. Cuff's Tabernacle represents Nonconformity over the whole of the district. The parish church of St. Leonard's avoids extremes, and attracts respectable congregation. pp. 88-95.

Sec. v. Standard of life in Bethnal Green.—Much of the family life and social habits of Bethnal Green at as low a level as any in London: a patchwork of quotations from our evidence on this point bears witness to drink, thriftlessness, abnormal roughness and low sexual morality. But roughness decreasing and conditions becoming more level. Much life and good humour in the streets: Sunday morning bird fair in Sclater Street. Criminal side of Bethnal Green: does not here assume its blackest aspect. Sporting tastes of the people, and love of domestic pets and flowers. Old quiet corners: George Gardens. Health surprisingly good considering the crowding and bad housing: some bad block dwellings. Employment: silk-weaving lingers, but boot and cabinet making are now the leading trades: the latter still mainly in small workshops. pp. 96-99.

Sec. vi. Public Buildings and Local Administration in Bethnal Green.—Baroness Burdett-Coutts' and other markets fail: the people cling to their old ways, and the costermongers prefer the streets. An attempt made to use part of Columbia Market as a Church Polytechnic fails: the Bethnal Green Museum. A great awakening in sanitary matters of late years: but great difficulties to contend with: housing declared to be 'loathsome' and 'overcrowding shocking.' A good deal of house-farming and sub-letting. Difficulties in the way of clearance. Crowding aggravated by Boundary Street clearance. But bad as things are, said to be improvement on the whole: and falling death rate confirms this. Untidy condition of the streets due to habits and occupations of the people. Poor Law: indoor and outdoor pauperism grown apace, and district certainly poorer than ten or twenty years ago. Since 1895 the Guardians more careful in administration. pp. 100-103.

Descriptive Notes. Map H. Inner East. General character. Poverty areas. Employment. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 104-107.

Places of Worship.—List of Parish Churches situated in the district described in Chap. I. and II., with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 107-108.

Map H. Inner East London (1900). Opposite p. 110.

HOXTON, ST. LUKE'S, AND CLERKENWELL. Vol. II., chap. iii., pp. 111-168.

Sec. i. Hoxton.—Hoxton the leading criminal quarter of London: central, and suitable for nefarious projects. Two distinct kinds of professional thieves, those who live from day to day by theft and those who lie low for occasional big hauls, living meanwhile the life of the lower middle class. The number of first-class burglars small: their relations with the police: generally known, as also are the receivers: valuables stolen anywhere in London come at once to this quarter. The old thieves teach the young. Gangs of juvenile criminals in this quarter: their fights and quarrels: juvenile crime said not to be stimulated by blood-curdling literature. pp. 111-115.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 113, 114.

Added to the criminal element there is a great mass of poverty and extremely low life, while all who rise a little leave the district: all this renders terribly difficult the task of social or religious reforms. The clergy speak of 'moral flabbiness,' and there is a good deal of physical weakness. The houses are extremely crowded, and there are a large proportion of 'out-of-works.' The dark and miserable is not the only side of Hoxton: many decent and worthy people still live there: but the downward tendency has been very great: evidence of a Wesleyan schoolmaster on this point. But the poverty is not incompatible with there being lots of money going: all live largely in the present: drink the great popular extravagance, though less drunkenness than formerly: women go freely to the public-house: children spend largely on sweets, but have not the food they require. The clergy complain that Hoxton is a bad name to beg with: it is not the 'East End': less easy to obtain workers from outside, and the material at hand is bad: but even where there is no lack of means, spiritual results are disappointing. Tested by church attendance, we find everywhere small congregations: no contradictions to extraordinarily low estimate of church-goers: everything tried, but with modifications and partial successes everything fails: hopelessness prevails: only a few individuals influenced: numerical success only among children. The missions on a grander scale. The Friends' Mission, Hoxton Hall, an offshoot of the establishment at Bunhill Row, but no clinging to special tenets of the sect: has Gospel evening service, adult school, and women's help-one-another society: also 'Girls' Guild of Good Life,' and large Sunday schools: the innermost religious expression consists of a mission church numbering thirty members. The Christian Institute, Hoxton Market: a similar democratic simplicity, but the work more extensive: a prodigious list of operations: objects stated as 'salvation of the lost, relief of the destitute, rescue of the children, and ministry to the poor': evangelist's work regarded as the foundation of all, but little definite religious work: its active temperance work among juveniles: its work among boys, girls, and mothers: a labour bureau: the most characteristic work is the provision of 'children's cheer': the superintendent and his remarkable diary. The Hoxton Costers' Christian Mission: works on thoroughly Evangelical lines: its long list of operations: the religious side here is important: a mission church with over four hundred members and a full hall on Sunday evening: a huge Mutual Loan Society: altogether a very real Christianity is both preached and practised. The North Central Wesleyan Mission: the success of its late minister: the secret was the breathing of human life into every function of religion: astonishing energy: methods adopted for reaching the people: a hurly-burly of religion out of which emerges the true Church, the chosen few bound together in Wesley's class system. These four missions important locally

and very typical. A Presbyterian and other small missions in this neighbourhood. Comparing the work of the Church of England with that of the Nonconformists, it appears to be less effective, and certainly less wholesale. Views of the clergy on the missions and their work. The Roman Catholic Church of St. Monica in Hoxton Square: the most difficult Catholic population in London: people poor, scattered, and often bad: not half attend regularly to their religious duties: the church free, the usual *1d* not exacted at the door: leakage due to carelessness and indifference: clubs on a religious basis fail, cannot compete with worldly amusements: schools irregularly attended. Priests confirm the view that Hoxton grows steadily poorer. pp. 115-130.

Sec. ii. St. Luke's.—A district from which the former inhabitants are being rapidly driven by demolition and rebuilding for business purposes or block dwellings. The Church of England does its best under difficult circumstances: services well conducted but thinly attended, though good music will draw a good congregation in the evening: clergy complain of lack of funds and workers. St. Michael's, Shoreditch: the work remarkably concentrated: the ritual of the Highest: social work made difficult by 'cliquiness.' St. Clement's also extremely High: innumerable Sunday and week-day services, and draws a not very numerous congregation from outside: an enormous population around practically untouched. St. Paul's, Bunhill Row: the greater part of the population of six thousand in Peabody blocks: neither they nor costers in few remaining courts come to church: but services seem fairly attended. Failure is comparative, some are content with attendance of fifty to a hundred, but whatever the numbers, it is said with truth that the influence of the Church is greater than the figures indicate. St. Mary's, Golden Lane: the same general disheartenment: vicar finds no disadvantage, moral or spiritual, in life in block dwellings, though many think otherwise. The Wesleyans the most active Nonconformist influence in the neighbourhood. Wesley's Chapel in City Road a centre to which strangers come from all parts of the Protestant world: connected with it is an active mission in St. Clement's parish, with a huge Sunday evening school and a large slate club and sick and provident society. The Leysian Mission: all the accepted Wesleyan mission methods adopted, and undoubtedly stir the people: difficult to estimate the value of rather feverish work on workers or population touched, but in its way certainly successful. The Congregationalists at the New Tabernacle, Old Street: its 'Pleasant Half-Hour Society' with daily meeting from 1.25 to 1.55, concerts, lectures, and once a month a religious service: attended by the better class of working men round about: the society's monthly magazine, *The Silver Arrow*, the best thing of the kind issued in London. The Unitarians and their mission: the work extensive but mainly social. The Society of Friends' Adult School at Bunhill Fields: this is rather a gathering of devoutly inclined men, or more rarely women, for the study of the Bible, and for religious and social co-operation on very democratic lines: the basis is brotherhood: this school numbers seven hundred to eight hundred: attracts only those of religious disposition, and provides a very strong religious diet for those whose souls demand it, and who find what they need in open, equal, individualistic, democratic debate on the meaning of the Word of God, and in the interchange of spiritual experience. The members are bound together by mutual helpfulness. The organization neither church nor charity, but rather of the nature of a Bible-class. Mr. Reuben May: his years of mission experience incomparable as a record of the begging art: Mr. May lives on the work: indiscriminate feeding of the people the backbone of the mission work and the sole secret of the attendance at religious services:

and mothers' meeting thronged because of bonus offered in shape of reduction in price of goods. pp. 130-140.

Sec. iii. Clerkenwell.—Disregarding local boundaries, Central Street is taken as the boundary between Hoxton and Clerkenwell. Things reach an even more uniformly low level on the borders of Clerkenwell than in Hoxton itself, showing a lower type of criminality about Central Street: further West there is much squalid poverty and rough life, but less crime, and not so dead a level: Italian Colony at Saffron Hill alongside of infusion of skilled workers in jewellery trade. The Mission Church of St. Peter's, Clerkenwell Road, commonly known as the Hatton Garden Italian Church: the regular congregation partly Italian, partly Irish, but the music attracts Roman Catholics of every nationality. The Irish contingent lately reduced, but the Italian remains practically stationary at 1500: for the most part good Catholics: on the whole poor and ignorant, and far more devout than their compatriots in Soho: but have, too, some Agnostics, Atheists, and Anarchists. Priests give a good account of the morals of their flock, and the police report them law-abiding and orderly. They undertake certain special industries and follow a variety of rather peculiar occupations, looking forward to ultimate repatriation in Italy. The staff and services of the church: over 2000 perform their Easter duties. Distinctions of class absent: rich and poor worship together: practically no social organization: a good deal of charity dispensed, managed by the Sisters. St. Alban's, Holborn: pervaded by a very similar spirit: the congregation from far and wide: the hold on the poor largely due to the Clewer Sisters: extraordinary success in personal relations between clergy and individuals: nowhere is the spirit that actuates the High Church movement better represented. The services of the church and its organizations. The Church of the Holy Redeemer, Clerkenwell: almost equally advanced ritual, but fills a place more parochial in character: its work among the poor again based on the lavish methods of a sisterhood: a strong body of communicants. St. Philip's and St. Peter's, St. John Street Road. St. Peter's, Saffron Hill, the centre of an extensive social work: the Factory Girls' Country Holiday Fund and the Board School Children's Free Dinner Fund have their head-quarters here. Small congregations here as also at St. Mark's, Myddleton Square, and St. Barnabas, King Square. It is among Wesleyan, Baptist and undenominational missions that Evangelical Christianity is represented in its full force: struggle for the religious suffrages of the people extends even to the Evangelicals among themselves. Limited ground on which all religious bodies work shown clearly by mutual charges of sheep stealing. The Wesleyan Central London Mission: brings together in Holborn Town Hall and in its own church near Clerkenwell Green a genuinely popular audience: the work rushes forward with marvellous impetus. The Baptists at Vernon Chapel: the congregation largely from the working classes, but not the very poor: the theory is that the Gospel is all sufficing, but in practice concessions are made. The Baptists in Arthur Street and Moreland Street. Two churches of the Congregationalists. The Watercress and Flower Girls' Mission has its head-quarters here, and runs a local mission church, as does also the Field Lane Ragged School and Mission, both on rather wholesale lines: the work sustained by treats, benefits, and charitable relief on a large scale: local religious influence small, and socially possibly harmful, but honest. The Fox Court Mission works on the same population as St. Alban's: black picture of the few remaining courts here. The Friends' Meeting House interesting as showing the uniformity of development on 'mission lines': their young people's club and its bands. The Lamb and Flag and Fox and Knot Missions. pp. 140-155.

Sec. iv. Local Administration.—In Shoreditch a competent and progressive vestry succeeded one which was apathetic and corrupt: now great municipal activity: the centralizing of a number of municipal institutions on one site a great achievement. The population decreasing since 1861, but crowding everywhere worse. Health reported good, considering the dense population. Houses fairly well built, but overcrowding aggravated by stinginess of principal landowner. Bad reports of 'models' in Shoreditch. Wilmer Gardens: its evil tenement houses. Hoxton Market. In its management of its streets Shoreditch stands well. Altogether Shoreditch shows an example of vigour and vitality in local government. pp. 155-159.

St. Luke's has in thirty years lost one-third of its population, and of those who remain one-fifth are in model dwellings: considerable improvements have been effected in the sanitary and structural conditions of both houses and streets. pp. 159, 160.

Clerkenwell: the population stationary; authorities vigilant in checking over-crowding, but much left to be desired as to housing, though conditions improving. Insufficient sanitary staff. Streets fairly cared for. General opinion of work, well and efficiently done. One of the earliest districts to adopt Free Libraries Act. pp. 160, 161.

Shoreditch and Holborn Board of Guardians. St. Luke's Endowed Charities. pp. 161-163.

Rosebery Avenue made a direct thoroughfare from Islington to the South-West, and cleared off some of the poorer streets and courts of Clerkenwell. pp. 163, 164.

Descriptive Notes. Map J. East Central. General character. Poverty areas. Employments. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 165-167.

Places of Worship. List of parish churches situated in the district described in Chap. III. with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 167, 168. Map. J. East Central London (1900). Opposite p. 168.

WEST CENTRAL LONDON. Vol. II., chap. iv., pp. 169-208.

Sec. i. West of Gray's Inn Road.—Sweeping changes recently made here by clearance of bad property. A population of all sorts crowded together: the poor neither disreputable nor criminal: but terrible crowding. pp. 169, 170.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included thereon. pp. 171, 172.

The parish of Holy Cross: the gradual building up of a High Church organization. London City Missionaries who regard High Church ways with inveterate distrust: 'the Church of England little better than Roman Catholic': strained relations between missionaries and church, often even when Evangelical: complaints of the power of the purse. This corner of London cursed by prostitution: rescue work undertaken, but it is found that the only hopeful cases are those of girls, who have recently adopted the life. The Presbyterians in Regent Square: a large church and congregation, and numerous body of workers, but not local or parochial: an active mission work by which the local people are touched.—St. John the Evangelist: beautiful music and a beautiful church bring a large congregation. A vicar on his people: a kindly view: due allowance being made, they are morally at a higher level than the rich. The Baptists at John Street Chapel: provide for the religious wants of considerable middle-class congregation, and attempt to reach the people with unsatisfactory results. The Baptists in Kingsgate Street. Bessbrook Homes for men. pp. 170-177.

Sec. ii. South of Oxford Street and Holborn, East of Regent

Street.—The black streets to the West of Lincoln's Inn Fields, minutely described in the Poverty Series, now to a great extent cleared away: but the improvement accompanied by deterioration in adjoining streets, *e.g.*, Nottingham Court, Short's Gardens, Neal Street. Clearances, actual and impending, in Clare Market: the remaining population consists of rough class of labourers, market porters, costermongers, and flower girls, with many without regular or legitimate occupation. St. Giles's Christian Mission: its work among discharged prisoners overshadows the local work: the mission proper includes a complete church organization with over seven hundred members: claimed that over four thousand Gospel services are held in each year: charitable relief on an equally wholesale scale: complaint from the other religious bodies as to its demoralizing effect: the money expended, and the preaching of the Gospel, do not appear to have any effect in raising the people: at the best the result is to win an individual here and there to a better life: in the main the efforts are wasted, or worse than wasted. The Inns of Court Mission: workers and supporters are barristers: a start made with club work. St. Clement Danes: lavish doings with children. St. Martin in the Fields contains all grades of society, from the king to the beggar: a Cabinet Minister and a crossing-sweeper kneeling side by side at the Communion service: largely a congregation of strangers, probably visitors to London: but a large number of the poorer parishioners attend evening service: mission church in Bedfordbury a failure: pertinacious visiting: most important work lies in the schools, which educate nearly all the children. St. Martin's represents a solid and fairly successful attempt to find a useful place for the Church in the life of a parish occupied by all classes. Its difficulties mainly those of a pleasure-seeking and money-spending district. The Wantage Club. The Rehearsal Club. The Charing Cross Rescue and Vigilance Association extends to St. James's parish: special midnight services to bear public witness against the sin and vice of the neighbourhood. St. James': a larger proportion of working class than map adequately shows: suffer under high rents and seasonal trades: are not easily reached: but church services well attended by wealthier classes and strangers. pp. 177-184.

Parishes in the heart of West Central London. Jealousies between churches and missions. The strange outlandish population of Soho, with its varied and numerous social diseases. St. Giles', St. Anne's, St. Luke's, St. John the Baptist, St. Thomas's, all able to gather small congregations, and all endeavour by the usual methods to do their duty by the people.—Special churches in this district. Roman Catholics:—Sardinia Street: large and poor population, chiefly Irish: Warwick Street, Golden Square: a decadent church; St. Patrick's serves a scattered population, difficult to deal with. Nonconformists: Bloomsbury Chapel in Shaftesbury Avenue the only important church: draws a considerable congregation of middle-class people, and young people from shops: their mission at Bloomsbury Hall, Meard Street: the evidence of the deaconess as to the people and their housing. pp. 184-189.

The Wesleyan West London Mission: Wesleyan mission work the most characteristic social and religious movement in London of the last decade: comparison with other great religious movements of the past. The Wesleyans have adopted all the methods and aspirations of other movements, and added two methods of their own, extended use of music and admixture of home politics with religion. As their work has developed, it has assumed much the same shape and adopted the same organizations as do all the Churches, except the Church of Rome. The original impulse—born of the publication of the *Bitter Cry of Outcast London*—was strengthened by the removal of the middle classes from many districts,

leaving churches on the point of extinction. The methods adopted and work undertaken differ a little according to neighbourhood of mission, but much that is common to all. The 'Sisters of the People' and their work. The services at St. James's Hall: filled twice, if not thrice, on Sunday: an atmosphere of high pressure, but does not seem to be the outcome of mere temporary excitement, or to depend on the personality of the late Mr. Hugh Price Hughes: but there is a certain measure of delusion, the work does not, in fact, fill the *rôle* it claims to fill: does not really do much for the spiritual destitution of West Central London. The local missions, of which there are three: the scope of their social work singularly complete, but bears little relation to the spread of the Gospel, with the preaching of which it is connected: the influence of the Gospel is over those who work rather than those for whom they work. All agree that the social work on its own merits is inspired by a broad, intelligent, and teachable spirit. pp. 189-196.

Sec. iii. Russell Square to Langham Place.—A district no longer fashionable, but still fairly well-to-do. The difficulties of the change mainly due not to poverty but to the fact that the population consists largely of residents in furnished apartments and lodging-houses, with a considerable admixture of foreigners, who do not respond readily to parochial treatment, but no doubt swell congregations here and elsewhere. Difficulty in securing parish workers. St. George's, Bloomsbury: very active, and has successful institutions for men and boys: an example of reasonable success on Broad Church lines. Christ Church, Woburn Square: a moderately High service attracts those who find the mother church not sufficiently ornate: a mission for the poor. St. Pancras, rather High ritual: a good congregation and large week-day and Sunday schools: two mission halls for the poor areas, and friendly relations with the people: successful 'self help' society. St. Saviour's, Fitzroy Square, has a working class congregation and does a great deal for them: has a fair measure of success. Decay in this parish south of Euston Road: tending to become uniformly poor, and the crowding excessive: an inferior Soho in the making. All Souls', Langham Place, All Saints', Margaret Street, and St. Andrew's, Wells Street, fashionable churches, all successful in their way. Nonconformists not strong: branch of Wesleyan West London Mission: Congregational Church in Tottenham Court Road: great hopes of a new building, but as yet little result. Three small Baptist chapels. A Unitarian Church. The Cathedral of the Irvingites in Gordon Square. Roman Catholic Church in All Souls'. pp. 196-200.

Sec. iv. Local Government.—South of Oxford Street and Holborn: the main fact is the combination of increased crowding with decrease of population, accompanied by very high rents and a continual growth of unsatisfactory conditions: must end in a complete change in the character of the whole district. The rough class of labourers will be driven out: cannot afford rent of the better accommodation or compete with those whose work ties them to the neighbourhood: these again are apt to be outbidden by the traffickers in vice. Brothels and gambling hells no sooner closed in one street than they are opened in another: prosecution of little avail, but harrying probably the only policy to pursue. The attitude of the authorities has been one of watchfulness rather than activity. Apart from the Clare Market and Strand scheme, demolitions left to private enterprise. Sanitation well looked after, as also streets. Need of open spaces. North of Oxford Street the difficulties less acute. Poor Law: three Poor Law authorities, each with a small and declining population, and a steadily diminishing relief list, though that of the Strand

still heavy. Not a sufficient task here to warrant the continuance of three distinct Poor Law authorities. pp. 200-203.

Descriptive Notes. Map K. West Central London. General character. Poverty areas. Employments. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 204-206.

Places of Worship.—List of Parish Churches situated in the district described in Chap. IV., with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 206-208.

Map K. West Central London (1900). Opposite p. 208.

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Sec. ii. Wesleyan Missions, &c.—(1) The Mahogany Bar (Wesleyan East London Mission). (2) Sunday Evening at Cleveland Hall (West London Mission). (3) Wesleyan Missions—Week-day Services. (4) The Wesleyan Twentieth Century Million Guinea Fund. pp. 216-222.

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Sec. iv. Baptists, &c.—(1) Shoreditch Tabernacle. (2) The revival of a Baptist Chapel. (3) Primitive Methodist P. S. A. (4) Baptisms in a Presbyterian Church. (5) A favourite Evangelist. pp. 226-229.

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VOLUME III

(*Third Series : Religious Influences*)

CITY AND WEST END

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[*Date of Inquiry in this District:* 1898]

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Holborn: a busy church but with small effect: further reports of poor demoralized by charity. pp. 35-42.

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Sec. iv.—Week-day uses for the churches must be found in addition to whatever religious services could be offered to advantage. The object should be to offer to day workers something which, without being definitely religion or education, would be an awakening and refining influence: should include music, lectures, conferences, &c.: to direct the undertaking there might be a council recruited from the parishes and representative bodies. Hours of effort must necessarily be immediately after work in City closes. Objections to scheme met. pp. 53-55.

Sec. v.—Wren's and the other more modern City churches admirably suited by their architecture for such secular purposes: they make one think of man and duty rather than God and faith. pp. 56, 57.

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Sec. ii.—The use of City churches. Opinions of clergy and others. pp. 66-68.

Places of Worship.—List of parish churches in the City of London, arranged in alphabetical order, with number referring to position on sketch map, together with a list of other places of worship, with number referring to the parish in which they are situated. p. 69.

VOL. III., PART II. WEST LONDON.

[*Date of Inquiry in this District:* 1899]

WESTMINSTER AND SOUTH PIMLICO. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. i., pp. 73-92.

Sec. i. Old Westminster.—The centre and citadel of the Empire. The parish of St. Margaret's full of public buildings and palaces: main duties of police to guard national buildings and monuments: of the Church to maintain the sanctity of the Abbey. Three great thoroughfares to Westminster: one wanted from the South along the river bank. A district of ancient poverty behind the Abbey and Dean's Yard. Residential Westminster still in the throes of rebuilding: the area of poverty diminishing: the action of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the chief landholders, criticized as wanting in enterprise. The changes progress without any general plan. Rich and poor dwell side by side, but no mixture of class is realized. Apart from well-to-do, population of two classes: genuine working people and hangers-on of charity. In the poorest district a large area demands reconstruction: and no area is better suited for working-class dwellings of the block type: better this than flats. pp. 73-79.

Sketch map of district, with statistics bearing on area included therein, pp. 75-76.

At present the disreputable classes still very much in evidence, especially in parishes of St. Matthew and St. John, and in Lewisham Street in St. Margaret's: interesting experiment here in church ownership. The low Westminster courts and streets some of the worst in London. But disreputable people also in the respectable flats: kept women and stylish prostitutes. All these unamenable to religious influence: but almost equally so the fashionable dwellers in flats and the working classes: leaden indifference on all sides: like 'twisting a rope of sand.' But the churches are alive and fairly filled: services extremely attractive, but do not draw the poor, for whom there are special mission rooms, which are used to little purpose: much systematic visitation and some notable social organizations: social activity in St. Stephen's parish, and at St. Matthew's, but the results disappointing. pp. 79-82.

The Nonconformists: the Church of England most important here, but several undenominational missions and City missionaries obtain some working-class support: but great difficulty in touching the lowest stratum. The story of a mission. A Baptist church. The Wesleyans. Improvement here due rather to structural alterations than the strenuous efforts of the churches. pp. 82-84.

The Roman Catholics: a settlement of Jesuit Fathers: their flock decreasing with displacement of Irish poor. pp. 84, 85.

The parishes of St. Mary, St. James the Less, and Holy Trinity, with southern portion of St. John's: same problems in less acute form, and equally earnest efforts to cope with them, but empty churches show the

slight influence of religion. This district falls in with opportunities for noble plan of reconstruction. p. 85.

In district as whole improvement generally recognised, partly due to clearances, partly to improved police administration. Poverty remains, but more circumscribed, and less violence and brutality. pp. 85, 86.

Sec. ii. South Pimlico.—An unsatisfactory district: some fashion and absence of marked poverty, but a depressing locality, tainted with prostitution. South of Lupus Street rather more respectable than north: largely occupied by great works and good blocks of model dwellings. Work of the churches here: St. Gabriel's, St. Saviour's: fairly active and considerable congregations: they speak of decline of neighbourhood. Methodists, Wesleyans, and Congregationalists, and a Baptist mission. The parish of St. Andrew. pp. 87-89.

Descriptive Notes. Map L. Westminster and South Pimlico. General character. Poverty areas. Employment. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 90, 91.

Places of Worship.—List of parish churches in the district described in Chap. I., with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 91-92.

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THE INNER WEST. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. ii., pp. 93-136.

Sec. i. General Plan.—The district surrounding Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens: the home of fashion and wealth: the route adopted. pp. 93, 94.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on area included thereon. pp. 95, 96.

Sec. ii. Mayfair.—The parishes of Christ Church and St. George's, Hanover Square: not all who live here are rich, but the inhabitants include many of the wealthiest people in London. The rich here not good parishioners: they lack regularity, whether as workers or church-goers: often have stronger claims in the country. Nor are bachelors in chambers good parishioners. An increasing area of business premises in St. George's with non-resident occupiers: all these influences act in anti-parochial direction: but new population of shop employees and caretakers offer opportunity. Mainly a 'grown-up' district: such children as there are above the average intelligence. No poverty in the district and public-houses going, but still more than can exist respectably. Immense expenditure on alteration and decoration of private houses brings continual presence of workmen. In place of poverty now find private houses of best class, well-arranged mews, and really 'model' dwellings. The new comers too respectable for a City Missionary, who finds his occupation gone; but a great district for sandwichmen, who have a licensed gathering for a daily dinner in Grosvenor Mews. St. Mark's and St. Anselm's. Private proprietary chapels a feature of the district. The Church of the Deaf and Dumb. King's Weigh House Chapel: an opportunity for a great preacher. The Salvation Army at Regent's Hall. The Chapel of the Jesuits in Farm Street: a church for the rich, and especially for propaganda among the rich. pp. 94-100.

Sec. iii. Marylebone and Bayswater.—Between Cavendish and Portman Squares, a district stamped with poverty on the eve of sweeping alterations: have here a heterogeneous population of dwellers in new flats and old houses attacked by half a dozen different religious agencies.

The Gray's Yard Mission attracts the poorest: its 'Ragged Church.' The Wesleyan Church, a powerful church with numerous social agencies. St. Thomas', Portman Square: complaints of the ground being 'overworked.' St. Marylebone: a stately church with good music and preaching above the average: shares in the religious tone of middle-class North and West London. A string of wealthy parishes along Oxford Street and Bayswater Road: little to note beyond varieties in ritual: all well filled. More settled life than in Mayfair and Belgravia, but parish work still difficult: the 'rich have money, but lack souls.' Special efforts to reach the servants: some of the Nonconformist churches largely supported by them. A benefit club for coachmen. The poor here 'thoroughly looked after,' but few of them. Further West along this line less of the unsettling influence of week-end and holiday absences, and power of Church becomes more marked: even extends to the filling of empty houses. Here the Established Church touches high-water mark: takes a moderate line: but though churches are full the religious life is not strong. Large revenues, part of which go to other parishes. The Nonconformists weak here: their congregations from the North-West for most part: the residents usually belong nominally to Church of England: but two meetings of an unusual kind—the Ethical Religion Society (Dr. Washington Sullivan) and the Christian Scientists. pp. 101-106.

Sec. iv. Kensington.—The great parish of St. Mary Abbot: here church organization in London culminates: all grades represented and all served by church: a year-book of 275 pages to describe the organizations, and income of £20,000 to support them: a marked success. A well-supported Congregational church with liturgical service. Two successful Presbyterian churches. The district north of Bayswater Road and south to Kensington has gained in recent years: a reaction in favour of Bayswater and Tyburnia over South Kensington: prosperity here not confined to the yellow streets: no signs of decay and religious life vigorous and healthy. pp. 106-108.

Sec. v. Brompton and Belgravia.—St. Philip's parish: an old settled district which has never pretended to fashion: here any change is upward. The difference between a red street which might almost be yellow and a yellow street which is decaying: in the latter social instability weakens the parochial tie, but creates a favourable opening for extreme churches which attract an eclectic body of worshippers, *e.g.*, St. Cuthbert's and St. Matthias': remarkable guilds connected with church decoration at St. Cuthbert's. A mission in this district mainly concentrated on the triangular patch of poverty between Cromwell Road and railway: no extreme poverty here, but much crowding. To the east of Earl's Court we re-enter area of settled wealth and prosperous churches, culminating in the great organizations of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, and St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. These well-to-do parishes not without poor, but they are decreasing, and district probably destined to be entirely rich: still poverty round Marlborough Road: the wealth of the Cadogan estate only separated by borderland of shabby gentility from group of mean streets. Not many Nonconformists here: but Roman Catholic Church puts forth its greatest strength: the Pro-Cathedral, the Carmelite Church, and the Oratory; but their work rather Metropolitan than local. pp. 108-112.

Sec. vi. Chelsea.—The parishes of St. John, Chelsea, and St. Luke, West Brompton: both of them, and the latter especially, cursed with prostitution; though no outward impropriety. But parts of these parishes have in respect of disorder changed a good deal for the worse in ten years, owing to demolitions elsewhere: no extreme poverty, but all the signs of

low life and filthy habits. Wholesale deterioration and decay in parts of this district, due partly to caprices of fashion, partly to bad building, but still more to failure of ground landlords and builders to appreciate the economic strength of the best of the servantless classes. The World's End: a district where poverty and newness co-exist. pp. 112-115.

The work of the churches: the vicar of St. Luke's recognises that there is a lull here as elsewhere. St. John's parish has more scope than St. Luke's, with a large poor population: an active and successful church. A large mission managed by two City missionaries. St. Luke's, Chelsea: the old church and the new. The Congregationalists in Markham Square. Christ Church: full of energy, but the poor parishioners not responsive. The Mission Church of St. Paul's, Onslow Square. St. Barnabas, St. Philip's, and St. Simon's. pp. 115-119.

Sec. vii. Paddington.—The poor part of Paddington between the railway and the canal. Poverty tends to cling to the banks of the canals: and groups of poor streets when shut in tend to become disreputable. Two poor spots here: (1) North and South Wharf Roads round Paddington Basin: the home of the dustman: about one thousand men and one hundred women employed: families who have been engaged in the work for generations: a very exclusive society: the Paddington Wharves Mission works among them. St. Michael's Church. A Baptist church linked to Dr. Clifford's, which missionizes in Lisson Grove. A Salvation Army Corps. An interesting community of Particular Baptists. (2) The Cirencester, Woodchester and Clarendon Street area: the scene of much energetic religious work: a most unsatisfactory spot: description of life here: St. Mary Magdalene: a Ritualistic church which draws good congregations from outside, and apart from church-going makes itself felt among the people. This district an example of one that has gone wrong: built on a wrong plan. To the South across the railway a district of church-going middle-class people: St. Stephen's and St. Matthew's successful churches. The Baptists under Dr. Clifford have carried a combination of religious and social activity to its highest point: its continuous development: the Westbourne Park Institute and other organizations connected with the church: though largely social, it is the utterances of the pulpit which breathe life into the whole. Other work in this neighbourhood: the Baptists, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics. pp. 119-126.

Sec. viii. Local Government.—Paddington rich: a higher average rateable value than any other London district. In the poor streets a great point made of frequent cleansing, and rigorous registration and inspection: the undesirable people and the brothels hustled about. Chelsea: Sweeping changes brought about by Lord Cadogan. Poor Law in Paddington: co-operation with and encouragement of voluntary agencies a settled policy: a formal signed agreement between the Guardians, the C. O. S.. and some of the neighbouring churches: but all cases left entirely to Poor Law or voluntary agencies: relief so hedged about with rule and inquiry as effectually to warn off all except those in real distress. A collector and staff employed to obtain contributions from relatives. Result of policy an enormous decrease in number relieved, and in amount expended on out-relief: but no diminution in total amount spent. Kensington Guardians adverse to out-relief but some weakening lately on this policy. Kensington able-bodied workhouse for men known as the test house: its severe *régime*. pp. 126-129.

Descriptive Notes. Map M. The Inner West. General character. Poverty areas. Employment. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 130-133.

Places of Worship. List of parish churches situated in the district, described in Part II. chap. ii., with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 133-135.
Map. M. The Inner West (1900). Opposite p. 136.

THE OUTER WEST. Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. iii., pp. 137-162.

Sec. i. Introductory.—What the district covers: here fashion has no place and wealth is the exception: much working-class comfort and a considerable amount of middle-class respectability: but symptoms of social decline in middle-class quarters. Nowhere north of Thames are problems of growth and expansion so well defined as here. pp. 137-138.

Sec. ii. Kensal New Town is old: all that remains of an ancient village: changed for the worse when colonized by riff-raff of slums displaced by construction of G. W. R., and for the better by recent building of laundries: known as 'Soapsuds Island': has most of the features which, when combined in London, lead to poverty and low life—canal and railway, gas works, isolation and the washing industry. The western end well suited for industrial purposes. The eastern end built for a superior class but now occupied by four or five families: visible outward conditions bad: men depend largely on wives' earnings: heavy drinking. Movement here of Roman Catholics from Lisson Grove: difficulty in coping with them. The people generally reported as indifferent to any form of religion: only among the children is success attained. pp. 138-142.

Sec. iii. Queen's Park.—The Queen's Park Estate of Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Co. well laid out and carefully sustained: occupants of regularly employed class: great competition for houses: some lodgers, but no poor. Public-houses excluded, but neighbouring houses have acquired inflated value, and off-licences do large trade for home consumption: a district of home life and comfort. Most of the people church-goers. The Church of England gets fair congregations, but the Congregationalists are the strongest: they have a great organization including a large and successful institute: the religious side very vigorous: the church a great rendezvous for young people. The Wesleyans also fairly successful: they collect and keep together their own people: the district favourable to Wesleyanism, though people less keen than in country: do no aggressive work: religious gipsying. The staple conditions of Queen's Park not found in the district beyond: suffers from newness and want of roots, people moving too readily from street to street: a fringe of poverty to the North, some of it in Willesden. pp. 142-145.

Sec. iv. Kensington Park.—Another working-class district to the south of the railway. Christ Church parish contains not many above or below the working-class level, but the people hold themselves above parochial visitation, which they connect with relief. All Saints: a decayed neighbourhood: parish work not an easy task: all on advanced High Church lines: a full church: but the problem is how to get at the great mass who remain untouched. St. Mark's. The Nonconformists here, and Presbyterians especially, have gained by adhesion of disgusted Evangelicals. The Wesleyans claim a working-class congregation. The Baptists in Ladbroke Grove vigorous and successful, but draw little from immediate neighbourhood or working class. The Talbot Tabernacle, 'Undenominational, Evangelical, Protestant': numerously attended by young people and children: the agencies run on 'Apostolic lines': church

membership of five hundred: oversight attempted by system of tickets. The Salvation Army: a strong local corps. This district enjoys a very varied religious life. pp. 145-149.

Sec. v. A piece of unbuilt London.—Between Ladbroke Grove Road and Wormwood Scrubbs is vacant ground still available for building: an admirable opportunity here for supplying the great demand for an improved type of dwelling for one or two families of upper working class and such as keep no servants: to build for the middle class as is being attempted on the St. Quintin Estate means rapid decay: houses built for such a class would probably soon be let as tenements, and the adjoining stretch of small property become slums. At present district contains small population served by two churches, church mission hall, and a City missionary: said that no form of Christianity has any hold upon the people. pp. 149-151.

Sec. vi. Notting Dale.—The district has long been the resting place for tramps entering London from North or West: a temporary halting place, most moving on to St. Giles or Whitechapel. This inward stream has lately been met by outward tide of the dregs of Central London: the result is a perhaps unexampled concourse of the disreputable classes: who are increasing here rather than decreasing. The people rather criminal than poor: it is said there is generally money going: it is the way of spending it that is amiss. The district not all the same in character: those who remain here are less disorderly than the shifting element, and it is upon this permanent element that missionary effort is poured out, and it is said to be customary with these people to appear poorer than they really are in order to share in relief. No lack of work for the regular inhabitants: plenty of money can be earned: but the people have no financial reserve: all goes in drink and pleasure. The churches and missions not responsible for the state of things, but do nothing to cure it, though there is no lack of effort. St. Clement's: difficulty of obtaining good workers: even residents in Kensington prefer to go to East End: Ritualistic services, the people like processions and banners: vigorous social work and systematic visitation with considerable amount spent on relief. St. James' parish: three churches, two in this area. Harrow Mission devotes much of its energies to clubs for men and boys. The Rugby Mission almost exclusively devoted to management of boys' club: an excellent piece of work. The Olaf Street Congregational Mission. The Church in Walmer Road. The Independent Mission in Blechynden Street: mainly active among the more respectable who live in immediate neighbourhood. The Roman Catholic Church has large district with four thousand souls, mostly Irish. pp. 151-156.

Sec. vii. Local Administration.—Notting Dale, an outlying portion of Kensington: its condition long felt to be a disgrace: an appeal made to the London County Council to deal with it failed: nothing short of wholesale and drastic action would suffice. In spite of constant effort at amelioration, the medical officer reports that the evil conditions still continue. In 1898 the death rate was 45·5 per 1000, and the infant mortality 419 per 1000. pp. 156, 157.

Descriptive Notes. Map N. The Outer West. General character. Poverty areas. Employments. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes in population. Means of locomotion. pp. 158-160.

Places of Worship.—List of parish churches situated in the district described in Part II., chaps. iii. and iv., with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 160-162.

Map N. The Outer West (1900). Opposite p. 162.

THE OUTER WEST (*continued*). Vol. III., Pt. II., chap. iv., pp. 163-181.

Sec. i. Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith.—St. Stephen's parish has lost the suburban well-to-do class, but has few poor: indifference to church said to be spreading above working class. Sunday bicycling a symptom rather than a cause. Similar account from adjoining parish: demoralization resulting from pleasure and excitement. Same story from parish to parish: a process of decay long going on, and now proceeding rapidly. But impression gained by visiting churches more favourable than that derived from evidence. The Congregationalists very successful with a portion of the middle class here. The district not unfavourable for Wesleyanism: they have two smart-looking congregations. The Baptists not yet fully established, but increasing. The marked characteristic of this district at present is transition: it contains a considerable amount of poverty: but there are no slums which call for destruction. The district to the south of Goldhawk Road includes well-sustained middle-class about Ravenscourt Park and Brook Green: a rush of metropolitan life in Hammersmith Broadway, and strange patches of old water-side poverty down by the Thames: here is much that is old, and comparatively few signs of change. No failures among the religious bodies, but only at the Church of the Holy Innocents has exceptional success been achieved. pp. 163-167.

Sec. ii. Fulham.—St. Mary's, West Kensington, is practically a portion of Hammersmith: shares the advantages offered by the neighbourhood of St. Paul's School: has suffered under the deterioration traceable to shows at Olympia and exhibitions at Earl's Court: has a good middle-class congregation. The true Fulham is south of the District Railway: comparison to the Isle of Dogs: nowhere else in London north of the Thames has population in recent years increased so fast as here. Nowhere is religious effort more active, and there is a character of hopeful confidence in the work and the people: examples of the buoyant spirit. St. Augustine's Mission seeks support among the upper section of the working class to evangelize the poor. A High Church mission. St. Etheldreda. On the west side less satisfaction in some quarters: complaints of instability arising from frequent removals. But everywhere in this district the congregations have a genuine religious aspect. pp. 168-171.

On the eastern side Fulham is unsatisfactory from every point of view: one of the dumping grounds of London. St. Oswald's Mission and St. John's. Prostitutes and loose women: the exhibitions blamed. Rough poverty and crime to the south: Langford Road. The new streets to the east of Wandsworth Bridge Road of doubtful character: the people poorer than they look: the beginning of a black area. The Church not inactive: the parish worked like a mission. pp. 171, 172.

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Descriptive Notes. Map O. Fulham. General character. Poverty areas. Employments. Housing and rents. Market streets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 179-181.

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Sec. vi. Notes of a District Visitor. pp. 220-223.

VOLUME IV

(*Third Series : Religious Influences*)

INNER SOUTH LONDON

[*Date of Inquiry in this District :* 1899-1900]

WEST SOUTHWARK AND NORTH LAMBETH. Chap. i., pp. 3-56.

Sec. i. Introductory.—Here we make something of a fresh start. The differences between North and South London lie deep : historical and physical in origin, but industrial, social and moral in result. Quotation from an historical souvenir of the old Borough Road Baptist Chapel indicating the physical and social conditions of the past. The Central South London district here described covers more than the new borough of Southwark : it extends from Lambeth to Rotherhithe and includes Walworth and Bermondsey : is bounded by water on three sides. First impression on looking at map is of network of wide thoroughfares starting from the bridges : the second impression is of a maze of small streets and courts crowded in many parts with low life. pp. 3-8.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 5, 6.

Sec. ii. From the Borough to Blackfriars Road.—In this part a great concentration of evil living and low conditions of life : contains a number of courts and small streets which for vice, poverty, and crowding are unrivalled in London : the inhabitants mainly South Londoners born and bred. The group of old courts lying between Red Cross Street and Borough High Street take the palm for degradation : description of the spot : evidence of the police : it is lowness and wickedness that impress here rather than poverty : the lowest depths found in the common lodging-houses. The group of small streets on either side of Friar Street almost equally bad, and here the area is larger and the evil conditions extending : these streets contain some of the worst blocks of 'dwellings' in London. The area of poverty and vice extends beyond the Elephant and Castle and along part of Westminster Bridge Road : but as we pass South and West the industrial element becomes dominant, though the people are still of a rough class. The bulk of the people work as well as sleep in or near the district : more street life here than in East End : old established families in the small streets and courts. The district has gained little by demolitions, for the poorest and lowest are the last to leave. pp. 8-12.

The work of the religious bodies. St. Saviour's Church has already the character of a Cathedral in its services and organization. The population of the parish nearly all poor, many very poor : the religious attitude of the people. Irish Roman Catholics in the poor courts readily recognise the claims of their religion and the authority of the priests : drink, betting, and the grip of the money-lender the principal social difficulties : drink not increasing, but betting is, and said that a small money-lender may be found in every court. The people said to be 'too poor for Dissent,' but mission work goes on. A London City missionary's work among the market porters : reports change for the better. Barclay and Perkins' brewery supports a special mission and missionary : teetotalism among the

employees. St. Peter's parish: houses giving way to business premises: the people here more of *bonâ-fide* working class: some touched by an active church, but most indifferent. The Grove Mission: superintendent and all other workers give services: in effect a working-class church which undertakes philanthropic work: its interest lies in the fact that those who here satisfy their religious aspirations belong to the class commonly reported as indifferent to religion. All Hallows: High ritual touches a certain portion of the respectable working classes: improvement in the district since All Hallows' Mission started twenty fours years since: due largely to demolition and wise rebuilding: but still complaints of larrikin terrorism: evidence of a City missionary on the evil side: still an open question whether respectability or squalor to prevail. St. Michael's, Lant Street: genuine religious work stamped with the individuality of the vicar. St. Alphege: a story of the past: the work had been very futile on the religious side, and on the social side positively mischievous. Mother parish church of St. George the Martyr: the centre of the greatest mass of poverty and low life in London: this church fills the mother parish *rôle* satisfactorily: large congregation, mainly middle class: extracts from the rector's report: desponding views as to the religious prospect. This district full of missions: a missionary who is a grill cook in the City. Missionaries paint a very black picture of the neighbourhood: such success as they have is to gather together a few devoted helpers: the work among the children the most satisfactory part. Mischievous effects of charity dispensed by missions, and churches also complain of each other on this score: Sisters beyond control: but clergy here for most part accept strict principles in theory if not practice, and pains taken to prevent over lapping. The Salvation Army as a religious body practically inoperative, but has two great shelters. Mr. Fegan's Boys' Home: has been led into Evangelistic and general charitable work: his charities complained of but show evidence of care. The religious bodies affect but a small proportion of the population, but this black spot no more 'heathen' than many other parts, though a degree more squalid than any other area of equal extent. pp. 12-24.

Surrey Chapel: a notable effort to arouse in the more religious minded of the working classes a missionary zeal for the social and spiritual welfare of the poor and degraded: contact the watchword: helped by the Primitive Methodist Connexion. The Women's University Settlement in Nelson Square: a business affair with a very well thought out constitution: the branches of work carefully organized and systematically carried out: religion underlies all, but no propaganda attempted. The Clewer Sisters: religion of the most definite description: excellent work. Miss Octavia Hill and Red Cross Hall. Miss Cons and her work at the old Victoria Music Hall. pp. 24-28.

Sec. iii. From Blackfriars Road to Lambeth.—The condition of this district greatly affected by propinquity to West Central London and the West End: home of prostitutes, music-hall artists, cab yards, costermongers, and street sellers. Influence of Waterloo Station: a stimulus to prostitution and cab-owning: its extensions aggravate crowding. A colony of dustmen: a special mission among them. The Church of England: painstaking, but not very successful: even the most successful only attract sparse congregations: mostly Evangelical. Large Sunday schools, clubs, mothers' meetings, &c., but no up-springing life: on the other hand, no sensationalism: such influence as is exercised wholesome and genuine. pp. 28-30.

The Nonconformists. Mr. Meyer at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road: a huge congregation in a famous church: its inner circle larger than outer circle of any other church in the neighbourhood except the

Tabernacle: contrast with the Tabernacle: 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoon' meeting for men: feeling of *camaraderie:* its numerous activities: work among the women: a Sunday afternoon meeting and a 'women's at home': the Southwark and Lambeth Mission: the Sunday schools separately organized as the 'Southwark Sunday School Society,' with over five thousand children and four hundred teachers. Quotations from the report as to the aims of the Church. The Free Church Council: co-operation with some of the Established churches. pp. 31-35.

Upton Baptist Chapel: a very genuine religious gathering of middle-class people: but its missions not successful. The Congregationalists: a fresh start: dinner-hour concerts for working men. The Wesleyans: the South-West London Wesleyan Mission: all the usual Wesleyan mission methods adopted: no great success, but much zeal and enthusiasm. Bible Christians: adherents come from long distances: great crowds for special services with lantern illustrations. Apart from Mr. Meyer's work, a feeling of doubt and discouragement prevails: quotations from evidence. The Unitarians in Stamford Street: religious influence of the smallest. The Working Men's Mission: a family of converts who preach the Gospel in the light of their own salvation: simplicity and honesty of purpose. The devotion of converted working men. St. George's Cathedral of the Roman Catholics: a mission church for seven thousand souls: still a very considerable centre of Roman Catholic organization. pp. 35-39.

Sec. iv. Lambeth Road to Vauxhall.—Potteries and gas works provide good and regular employment for a certain number of skilled men, and require the services of a mass of less skilled or unskilled men. The progress of industry has brought social decadence to this neighbourhood: the mechanics and artisans move out, the poor remain, and their numbers are increased by incomers from clearances north of the river. pp. 40, 41.

St. Mary, Lambeth: a moderate church: no opposition, the clergy popular, but the people not religious: more than ordinary energy: its manifestations: a delightful picture of useful social activity carried on under the ægis of the church. St. Peter's: a High church: nothing in the teaching watered down: efforts to capture the children: the Choral Mass on Sunday morning. St. Mary-the-Less: a frank view from the vicar: 'as a rule, nobody goes to church.' Emmanuel: Evangelical: as at the two previous churches, numbers small, but those who come warm and hearty. The story of these churches seems to show that, whatever the ritual, about an equal proportion of the people is influenced in each case, and in about an equal degree. pp. 41-46.

The Nonconformists. The Baptists have their *clientèle.* The Presbyterians: an effort of religious people to organize local life. A vigorously worked mission in Lambeth Walk proves that among this heathen population earnest Christian effort finds many adherents. The Moffat Institute: not so much a mission as an institute to provide healthy recreation for young people in continuation of a very large Sunday-school. pp. 46-48.

Sec. v. Side Lights.—Evidence of the head of a nursing association: large families, high rents, and consequent bad accommodation: other evidence in confirmation: the headmaster of Lant Street Board School and the head mistress of an adjoining school on the difficulties of the situation: the evil influence of the homes: comparison of school children with those at Lavender Hill. pp. 48-52.

Sec. vi. Local Administration.—St. George's Vestry progressive: instances of the progressive spirit: a very fair record. High death-rate; the excess mainly among infants: high zymotic death-rate. Instances of

overcrowding. St. Saviour's Board of Works ineffective. Lambeth Vestry. St. Saviour's Poor Law Union give good deal of out-relief: no very definite policy or fixed rules. pp. 52-56.

NEWINGTON AND WALWORTH. Vol. IV., chap. ii., pp. 57-96.

A district bisected by the Walworth Road, poorer to east and north than south and west: has a residential rather than industrial character: central position and accessibility explain the crowded conditions. The outward drift of population very marked here: an exceptionally shifting crowd: this aggravates religious difficulties: the result is small success in spite of great effort. pp. 57, 58.

Sec. i. The work of the Church of England.—Twenty parishes with great variety of aim: but an almost universal sense of disappointment: strong social and political flavour, a symptom of religious desperation: the establishment of College Missions has roused some bitterness, but made for breadth of view. Points of view and methods of work: the rector of the mother parish says that visiting and the exercise of quiet personal influence is the best work that can be done: but out of population of 14,000 only 400 on communicants' roll. The vicar of another large parish and his work. The evidence of a pronounced Tory vicar: the neglect of South London: its lack of public life: dulness leads to vice: the difference of Church standpoint, High or Low, makes no difference in the hold of the Church upon the people: the vast majority neither know nor care anything about the subject. The evidence of another incumbent: scorn and dislike expressed of numbers and crowds: the absorption of the clergy in 'running things': need of greater co-operation of the laity if social work is to be done: work should be intensive rather than extensive. A church which attracts numbers by its extreme ritual: the result of years of persistent work. pp. 58-64.

The work of the Church in poorer parts: a rector who takes a fairly hopeful view: small congregations, but five times as large as in 1888: but stress laid on the difficulties caused by continual shifting of the people, and social distinctions. A Low Church: the clergy claim 'a great personal influence': a large and aggressive temperance society: the real interest of the people centres in betting and sport of every kind. Another church with small parish, poor and crowded: special efforts to reach slum children: the music an attraction. A church in the costermongers' quarter: a gloomy view: the people accessible and friendly and easy to gather together to social functions, but on the spiritual side almost hopeless: the instinct of worship seems lost: even if it survives among the women, the weight of opinion and the influence of the men on them is all against religious observance: still here as elsewhere a genuine and earnest remnant: those touched are the religious minded, and for them competition is keen: beyond this limited circle the influence of the churches based on expectation of temporal benefit. Two incumbents who have thrown themselves into local administration: the object 'to fight the battle of the weak against the strong': these political methods much criticized: defended on ground that the people feel that Church touches a set of subjects altogether different from those in which they are interested: the people not ignorant of religion, but religion divorced from conduct: the Church must step down on to the ground of the working man: the use of church for marriage, churchings, baptisms, simply due to superstition: immediate results not looked for: surroundings of working classes too depressing: those who now come to church the salt of the earth. Two formerly neglected parishes now energetically worked, one Low, the other High. The Low Church: considerable response to energetic effort

in a neighbourhood where the Wesleyans have, too, their chief success: a proof of the genuine demand for vigorous Evangelical teaching combined with bright music: confidence is felt that with more living agents the Church might do a great work. The High Church has met with less sympathy: complaints of indifference: people incapable of sustained interest. A touching record of a failure in another parish: a beautiful service in a neglected church. The United Girls' School Mission: the first flush of enthusiasm: an immediate success: contrast with the empty parish church: quotations from the missioner's buoyant reports: a genuine success so far as it goes, but mainly a children's church, and in the children and young people lies the hope: this work comparatively easy, and done wholesale in all parts of London, but much more difficult to organize a church for men and women. Another public school mission in this district and two college missions, and others just beyond its boundaries: neglected South London their chosen ground: enthusiasm and high hopes only meet with disappointment: frank admissions on this point: extracts from evidence. A college mission which has a parish rather than a mission district: contains all the classes usually found in South London: has a fair evening congregation of women and young people: but nothing exciting about the work: nothing to rouse the efforts of a distant college. Some jealousy of Wesleyan competition; every hopeful case the battle ground of the sects. pp. 64-74.

Sec. ii. Baptists.—Spurgeon's great influence centred in South London, and has there left almost indelible traces: an immense congregation still gathers round his successor and the independent organizations he initiated still retain their vigour. The influence mainly seen in the number of affiliated missions: twenty-one of these in various parts of London, with twenty-five Sunday schools, 676 teachers and 8900 scholars. No Year-Book published or needed: the relationship personal between pastor and flock: the influence spiritual. Spurgeon dreaded worldly developments. Organizations in connection with the Tabernacle itself. Sunday schools, Mothers' Meetings, *crêche*, &c.: all done on rather a large scale. The burning down of Spurgeon's Tabernacle a great blow: interim arrangements. The membership of four thousand, though reduced, is still unique in London: still drawn from wide area, though less so than formerly: remarkable that congregation should have held together so well: will probably decrease as older members die off: it consists mainly of lower middle class, who seek to do their duty to the poor by the missions. Five of these missions in or near this district: of one, the vicar of the parish speaks as 'the only agency with a hold on the quite poor': they get ragged children in crowds, and their Sunday mission service is filled with women. At a second mission the work is mainly among children, but open-air preaching is said to touch those who won't come inside. A more important mission is Haddon Hall, which ranks as a branch church: in existence twenty-nine years: in charge of a prosperous man of business: 310 members, mostly of the working class: a large Sunday evening congregation: very large Sunday schools and mothers' meeting: outdoor preaching regarded as the mainstay: analysis of the occupation of members. This is a mission church recruited from the more religious minded of the people among whom its work lies: the success attributed to working-class membership with distinctly religious methods: its strength said to have lain in keeping clear of the social movement. pp. 74-78.

Other Baptist churches: chapel in Walworth Road, in spite of losses still has five hundred members, and large congregations: the opinions of its pastor: the effective combination of church and mission. The poor and rough class in the neighbourhood only touched through its children, and

the visitation of the Bible-women: their good influence and that of the City missionaries on the homes: the unit of Christian labour must be the family, not the individual. The social work of this church at Victory Place Institute: religious influence small but civilizing influence great: danger in the admixture of social and religious work emphasized. Maze Pond Chapel: strong choral society and many visitors to evening services: relies very largely on attracting young people: membership not increased in proportion to attendance: but measure of success above the average of surrounding churches. Important congregation of Strict Baptists at Surrey Tabernacle: a people greedy of sermons: work entirely spiritual: a strong and active body of Christian worshippers, bound together by similarity of taste in religious matters as well as by unity of belief. Another Strict Baptist church, in East Street: a small congregation, with the usual earnest spirit of the Strict Baptists. The work of the Baptists the most remarkable and successful religious development in South London: due partly to Spurgeon's personality, but partly to the locality and the people: the ground favourable. But in spite of Baptist success, and adding all the other churches, the mass of the population untouched. pp. 78-82.

Sec. iii. Wesleyan and other Methodists.—The South London Wesleyan Mission: Mr. Meakin's work at Rodney Road: his methods attracted a congregation of about one thousand, drawn largely from the working classes: the evening congregation and the Sunday school the largest in the neighbourhood: claimed that non-church-goers have been gathered in, but not the poorest: admitted that 'the only hope for the slums is in the children': doubtful if this work is the great religious influence it desires to be: but it undoubtedly does much to lighten and brighten and add wholesome interests to city life. A Wesleyan church of the ordinary type: a respectable congregation, mainly of tradesmen: all the usual machinery of the sect successfully employed: the proportion of young people large: work among the poor on the Albany estate found unsatisfactory. Four or five small Methodist New Connexion chapels in this district: their people respectable working or lower middle class: the work strictly congregational. pp. 82-85.

Sec. iv. Congregationalists.—Practically a dead sect in this part of London, the soil and environment no longer favourable. Reminiscences of the time when York Street chapel held one of the richest and largest congregations in South London. Browning Hall, its successor, on religious side, must be counted as an independent mission: with most of the great Congregational churches a great social structure rises from a religious base, here the order is reversed. The organization consists of a Settlement which is pan-denominational: its multifarious activities: Browning Hall a centre of social politics: the success is considerable but somewhat spasmodic and strained. Murphy Memorial Hall, also Congregational: less enterprise and activity, but similar drift towards social and educational rather than directly religious methods. Exception to general statement as to failure of Congregationalists found in Sutherland Chapel, Walworth Road, where a genuine Congregational religious work is still carried on in very brave spirit. pp. 85-88.

Sec. v. Independent Missions.—These are few and small: nothing comparable to the great spending institutions in North London. Mr. Fegan's Home for Boys, Young's Working Men's Mission, the King's Own Mission, all comparatively humble, possibly because more neglected than those to North: if so, they are fortunate in their neglect. As regards religion, their efforts are greater and better sustained than elsewhere: they are honest efforts, but their work lies for the most part among neighbouring children. pp. 88, 89.

Sec. vi. More Side Lights.—This district, though surrounded in the main by districts poorer than itself, is crowded with inhabitants and pressed upon by the overflowing population on its inner borders: throughout the whole area raising of rents and increase of crowding are the underlying evils which aggravate all others: quotations from evidence on this point. The best people leave, and the rest are constantly moving: a picture of restlessness and general discomfort. 'Bad bits' in almost every parish, and in some extremely bad: but where there is actually great poverty it is often accompanied by extravagant expenditure, *e.g.*, the homes in the coster quarter near East Street. The East Street Sunday morning market is one in which well-filled purses overflow in the purchase of the minor luxuries of life. Quotations from evidence as to class of people in this neighbourhood and their habits of life and thought. Social relations and marriage customs: conclusion that level of morality is not so low as might be expected: quotations from the evidence of superintendent of a mission, and a schoolmistress: both notice improvement, but the picture is still a dark one. A neighbouring vicar's evidence: the work of the school teacher like Penelope's web: the Sunday school too irregular and inefficient, and many do not attend any: children adequately but not judiciously fed: waste is the characteristic. Alongside the coster is a low labouring class, largely Cockney Irish, some of whom are good Catholics, while others have practically lapsed. pp. 89-94

Sec. vii. Local Administration.—Newington Vestry absorbed in the Borough of Southwark. It stood out as a progressive and vigorous body and had to stand much criticism: quotations from the evidence. Details all point to activity. Conditions as to health: contradictory evidence. Overcrowding: habits of people, and ignorance of mothers held responsible for much ill health. Much attention given to housing question. Drains formerly in very bad order, and largely reconstructed. Dust removal inadequate. Public enterprise shown in bath and wash-houses, free library and electric lighting. pp. 94-96.

BERMONDSEY. Vol. IV., chap. iii., pp. 97-139.

Sec. i. Comparative Poverty.—Much controversy as to the poverty, degradation and irreligion of South London, both in itself and as compared with other parts: the ideas involved are complicated and difficult to disentangle: reasons why this is so: sources of misunderstanding and misconception. The main points at issue are the methods and possibilities of cure: but considerations of responsibility cannot be neglected: and the question of responsibility reacts on every statement of fact: hence wide differences of view. pp. 97-101.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 99, 100.

Star Corner is the virtual centre of the district shown on this map: on all sides there live a very poor population: no set of people in London who look quite so poor as those who market in Bermondsey New Road on Sunday morning: no district of equal extent so depressing as that which lies between Long Lane and Great Dover Street. pp. 101, 102.

Sec. ii. Four poor parishes.—St. Mary Magdalene, the mother parish: the rector accused of painting things blacker than they are: a newcomer to London, he was deeply affected by what he saw: he impressed their duty on others and took up his own strongly: the church powerfully organized: an example of parish work of the most active kind carried out on the largest scale: the attendance at services hardly commensurate with the efforts made: but 'the Church is throwing out her tentacles all the week': large Sunday schools and mothers' meetings, and other extensive social operations: possibly demoralizing. St. Stephen's parish:

covers most of the large dark blue area between Long Lane and Great Dover Street: the vicar's evidence: the work 'terribly slow and discouraging.' The Charterhouse Mission: one of the most strenuous of the School and College Missions in London: parish nearly as poor as St. Stephen's and practically no change during fifteen years: very little response to energetic effort, especially on the part of the men: many things have been tried and some have failed: this mission in common with others shows success of a very marked kind in the conquest of difficulties; yet all this is only preliminary to the objects aimed at: and for effect on the mass of the population nothing at the end of all seems to count except 'patience and love.' St. Paul's: the church dead at the time of our inquiry and new vicar only just appointed. In all these parishes the Church is recognised but not successful: as regards religion the people remain practically untouched. pp. 102-108.

Sec. iii. Nonconformists and Missions in the same area.—The Wesleyan South London Mission has been going on for ten or twelve years: it took up the moribund cause of old Southwark Chapel and has added several centres: Locksfields far the most successful in the past: the services at Southwark Chapel not largely frequented by people in the neighbourhood, but rather by Wesleyans from further South. John Street Mission Hall. The great new centre at Star Corner: £30,000 spent on the buildings: Mr. Meakin, transferred here, is repeating the success of Locksfields: large crowds are attracted, largely of the working class. Feeding of poor children by the mission: tendency to excessive advertisement in this and other Wesleyan missions: the success attained certainly in some ways greater than that of others, but the inflated ideas on which it is borne along are full of dangers. pp. 109-111.

The South London Primitive Methodist Mission and Mr. Flanagan: a new Central Hall built at a cost of £10,000: but in spite of every possible attraction of building and preaching, those for whom it was built, 'the suffering poor of Southwark,' do not come there any more than to the chapel in Trinity Street previously occupied: the failure, however, is only as relative to the stupendous claims made. Judged by the test of success in 'the salvation of souls' this and all other similar missions fail: what they do is to share with others the social work to which as a beginning or an end all turn. pp. 112, 113.

The Baptists at Haddon Hall already mentioned earlier: large schools and a considerable congregation drawn mostly from the working classes: a more than usual amount of success achieved in interesting in the work a proportion of the more serious minded of the working classes. The Long Lane branch of the London City Mission: practically a humble church: an evident success: but the missionary, and several other missionaries in neighbourhood speak despondently of their work: only from the young that results are expected. Number of missions here of which the buildings are largely used for free meals, which are more prevalent here than elsewhere in London: instances of this, and account of a children's free dinner. pp. 113-116.

Sec. iv. Conditions of life in these four parishes.—Evidence from note books as to the conditions of life here: police speak of 'notorious degradation, vice and poverty': but in spite of the evil conditions and poverty testified to there is evidence of money available for wasteful expenditure. Drink: said that there is no improvement among men and some increase among women: much violence and brutality, but some diminution in this. Sanitary conditions improved but still bad: evidence as to crowding and dirt: district contains some of the worst specimens of 'model' dwellings, but also good specimens in two great blocks of Guinness'

buildings which have replaced slums of the lowest character. Evidence of headmaster of Westcott Street Board School as to comparative poverty of this and other very poor districts: this the poorest school in London. The food of the poor even when sufficient very irregularly supplied. But considering everything the health is said to be amazingly good: this attributed to fact that people live mainly in open air. pp. 116-120.

Employment: since the riverside strike wharves more irregular and casual, docks less so. District suffered from partial removal of leather trade to provinces. Great extension of employment for women, mostly in jam factories. pp. 120, 121.

The market in Bermondsey New Road an epitome of the district, and a few further touches complete the picture: we hear of ingrained apathy and contentment, but this in the old balanced by abounding vitality and eagerness for pleasure in the young. This portion dealt with at length because here certain evils rise to their greatest height: it is not vicious or criminal, but simply low: for debased poverty it falls below any other part of London: the adjoining districts East and West are also full of squalor and the pressure of poverty: but if we take a wider range, including even only Lambeth and Walworth, it is true to say that South London has been 'too much depreciated by the press and public opinion.' pp. 121-123.

Sec. v. The Riverside.—The parishes of St. Olave, St. John, and Christ Church, Bermondsey, contain a declining population, owing to demolition for business purposes. At St. Olave's the interest is historical and the living practically a sinecure. St. John's: High ritual and active work, but the mass of the people untouched, though those caught earnest and devout. Christ Church: large Sunday school and some of usual agencies, but little genuine life. Congregationalists in St. John's maintain a mission in full operation: their tract distribution and service for gutter children, of whom there are plenty in neighbourhood: a picture of the homes and habits of these children, from our notes. A remarkable London City Mission in Christ Church parish: at a service the hall full with 250 people, mostly working class: the success of this mission due to the missionary's power of setting his adherents to work. The Baptists in Abbey Street: an active church largely of working men: devote themselves to work among the riverside poor, and give extraordinary picture of poverty and discomfort in some of the buildings. Three Roman Catholic missions here: all their churches well filled, and the comparison in this respect with Protestant churches very marked. Their people of the poorest and most squalid: they account for a considerable part of the dark blue here on our map. pp. 123-127.

Sec. vi. The remainder of the district.—The parishes of St. James, St. Luke, St. Anne, and St. Philip: a different and higher social atmosphere, though decadence in progress. The Church most effective at St Luke's: working classes attend church in considerable numbers: systematic visitation and much friendly feeling. A poor patch in this parish. In the other three parishes few of the working class attracted to church. St. James's: its organizations and services: activity, but not much result: a quotation from the Annual Statement (1897-1898). The Bermondsey Settlement: founded by the Wesleyans, but unsectarian in aims and methods: reasons for this attitude: the warden on the failure of the churches and chapels: the work undertaken: 'Evangelism': education very broad and social, and practical in its scope: clubs and other social work: local administration: the claims of religion underlie and inspire all. pp. 127-134.

United Methodist Free Church in Upper Grange Road: feels the decline of neighbourhood in spite of its democratic system: but, so far as it goes,

all working class. Strict Baptists: confine themselves to quiet spiritual work, avoiding publicity: numbers falling off owing to outward drift of prosperous working class. Unitarian Church in Fort Road. Primitive Methodists' Mission in St. Philip's. Congregationalists in Old Kent Road: depends on the aid of the class who are moving away. pp. 134-136.

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ROTHERHITHE. Vol. IV., chap. iv., pp. 140-162.

Sec. i. The riverside north of the Park.—District consists more of docks than anything else: actual street area very small: the old part a seaport. The rough poor round Paradise Street largely Roman Catholics: apart from them and parish churches religion and charity mainly falls to pauperizing missions: the people very poor, and except under subsidy no religion makes headway outside the Roman Catholics. The Cockney Irish: disorderly but not criminal: much drinking, quarrelling, and fighting: the forcible language of the children. The district long marked for demolition as insanitary. In spite of bad sanitation health wonderfully good: large open spaces of river, park, and docks. St. Crispin, Christ Church, and St. Mary's share the work: connected with Christ Church is a small College Settlement: the clergy hopeful of result of temporal but not spiritual work. pp. 140-145.

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Sec. ii. The neighbourhood of Southwark Park.—The scene changes and people grow more responsive: increase of vitality not found with every church, but applies to all denominations: the extent to which public attention is called to work of churches by window bills. The well-to-do drift out, but those who come are respectable, and the district suffers little. Christ Church parish: an old-established Congregational Church: but even here modern methods begin to prevail: at the parish church the people respond very well: in evening the church quite full, and congregation largely working class, who also give substantial financial support: number of small subscriptions noticeable. South along either side of Southwark Park we escape the shadow of poverty and drink, and religious work becomes successful: but there is some lack of reverence. pp. 145-147.

A great neighbourhood for 'Pleasant Sunday Afternoons' either for mixed congregations or as 'Men's Own' services: the ostensible object to reach the non-church-goers, but the mixed meetings do not do this unless the music is very attractive, and large numbers are thus drawn, when religious value is probably lost: these services amount to little more than provision of an innocent form of amusement for Sunday afternoon. The 'Men's Own' assumes two shapes: (1) small almost private meeting in church for a service: no doubt about its religious value, but only rarely does it touch the non-church-goer. (2) A large public meeting which lacks all the essentials of religion, though some of the forms are retained: if religion is introduced in the address, it is in sensational garb:

if well organized these meetings will draw crowds of working men and others of the class above. Between these two extremes, there is sometimes a compromise. All these various methods represented here: instances given. pp. 147-149.

The ordinary congregational work of the churches here successful. The Wesleyans. The Presbyterians. The Baptists in Drummond Road complain of removals, and instead of seeking mission work have to concentrate. The United Free Methodists: their decadent chapel in Albion Street: the social material for success now wanting in immediate neighbourhood: marked contrast with Mr. Kaye Dunn's Mission Chapel, which draws large congregations of the comfortable working and lower middle class: democratic ease and equality, a crowded church and an overflowing exchequer drawn from its people in coppers only: the minister a remarkable personality. A third church in Grange Road not so successful: not the same personal force and more decadent surroundings. Mr. Richardson's work at the Free Church in Lower Road: a real spiritual work on very large scale: a crowded church and a great Men's Own, one of the largest of its kind: a 'Women's Own': this is a genuine, self-supporting, working-class church, filled with spiritual life and quickening energy, created by a man of business, and sustained for six years on a high plane. St. Winifred's and Mr. Morriss: another successful work founded and carried on by a City clerk. In this district improvement rather than decadence: purple streets tend to become pink: the causes assigned. The Church of England less successful than Nonconformists: St. Augustine's the most active: the vicar on competing attractions: now no dulness on Sundays, which 'was our salvation physically as well as spiritually.' pp. 149-156.

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Sec. v. Local Administration.—The opinions expressed as to the work of the old Vestry of Rotherhithe favourable. Crowding increasing and rents rising, but health wonderfully good: again due to open spaces and life of streets. pp. 161, 162.

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VOLUME V

(*Third Series: Religious Influences*)

SOUTH-EAST AND SOUTH-WEST LONDON

[*Date of Inquiry in these Districts:* 1900]

PART I. THE SOUTH-EAST. Chaps. i.-iv., pp. 3-146.

DEPTFORD. Vol. V., Pt. I., chap. i., pp. 3-40.

Sec. i. General Character.—In the South-East, London ends really as well as nominally with Woolwich and Plumstead: the only parallel is at Putney: elsewhere in every direction the boundary is arbitrary. In South-East London the houses not only come to an end within the boundary, but do so in a manner three times. pp. 3, 4.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 5, 6.

Deptford proper consists of: (1) Old Deptford, between the Creek and the High Street, compact with ancient poverty, and (2) New Deptford, including part of New Cross, to the west of High Street, and east of London, Brighton and South Coast Railway: here there are a few poor streets, but the bulk of the houses were built for and are inhabited by comfortable working class. To the south lies rest of New Cross including Hatcham and Brockley: building still going on here, but all of middle class character. pp. 4-7.

Old Deptford divided into two districts by the railway, which differ a good deal in appearance and character. North of the railway a certain old established solidity about the conditions of life: the inhabitants mainly waterside labourers or at cattle market: rough but not criminal, though heavy drinkers: the neighbourhood has seen better days: good old residences now occupied as tenements: an extract from our notes on one of the worst streets: County Council dwellings in Armada Street, a refreshing contrast to some other 'Models.' St. Nicholas' Garden well stocked with shady trees. The part between Creek Road and railway not beyond possibility of being again made pleasant place of habitation: has still a few vacant spaces: mixture of rural surroundings with crime and fœtid smells. South of railway there is less variety, and little to mitigate the discomfort of low life exampled in Giffin Street, Hale Street, and Regent Street: criminals and prostitutes prominent here. The police recognise a general improvement, less violence and crime: but to the eye the district looks no better in ten years. Mill Lane was one of the worst spots: now demolished and inhabitants dispersed: probably their dispersal has injuriously affected the Regent Street area. Clearances also near Tanner's Hill, and others possible, which may clear away all poverty South of New Cross Road. pp. 7-9.

West of High Street uniform general prosperity, and in many parts a marked improvement in ten years: at one time building outran the demand and the district suffered from bad tenants: now houses are filled, rents are higher, landlords more prosperous, but tenants also. But here and there streets degraded beyond redemption: streaks of purple, and patches of blue show: Baildon Street as bad as any on the other side of

High Street. On the whole the district pink. Hatcham Park Estate leads on to middle-class district to south: the home of well-to-do working men, clerks and others in regular employ: has general aspect of comfort and respectability. Beyond the middle-class district lie open fields into which the population is extending along the railway: here are some patches of poverty. pp. 9, 10.

Sec. ii. Old Deptford Parishes.—(A) *Work of the religious bodies.*—St. Nicholas, St. Paul, and Christ Church are the old Deptford parishes. In St. Nicholas the church unfortunate in the past, and uphill work to fight against a scandal: but curate in charge finds people pleasant and friendly, though for most part poor, and in many cases rough mannered and drunken: largely an old settled population, not vicious or criminal. The church no longer empty, and fair success in work. Primitive Methodists in Creek Road: their tiny chapel linked with two others: a small but earnest membership. Mission Hall in Hughes Fields and missionary efforts of Congregational Church in High Street. Christ Church parish: irredeemable and unmitigated in its low life: an elderly vicar and an empty church: the failure here patent, but doubtful whether greater exhibition of vigour would effect more from spiritual point of view than constant presence of good and hard-working man. on the material and social side more might be done and left undone: doubtful 'ticket relief.' Deptford Ragged School and Mission in Giffin Street employs about seventy voluntary workers: the honorary secretary has worked here for twenty years, and finds but little change for the better: do a lot of work but 'merely *touch* the people': influence almost entirely among women and children: special work among crippled children. Incursions of other religious bodies: vicar complains of competition: the poor parts of Deptford a 'Tom Tiddler's ground' for missions. St. Paul's parish: a religious centre: number of churches in and off High Street The parish church has a strong organization: is well filled at night, and has five hundred communicants: the 'regular things' actively worked.—The Nonconformist churches draw their financial support from west of High Street. Numbers nowhere large: greatest with Congregationalists, but with them falling away owing to removals. The Baptists a small body but work hard: also a minute community of 'General Baptists' who are in effect Unitarians. The Wesleyans are looking forward to development on mission lines, and contemplate a new church: they are hopeful and 'aggressive.' Taken altogether the work of the Nonconformists here does not amount to much, and including Established Church and other agencies the mass of the population remains untouched on the religious side. A considerable number of Roman Catholics but even with them the people seem more than usually difficult to handle: out of total of five thousand to six thousand not more than 1400 on average attend Mass. We are told by a priest that here 'begging is the first profession.' pp. 10-17.

(B) *Social condition.*—Convincing evidence as to physical and moral, as well as spiritual, destitution of larger part of inhabitants of Christ Church and St. Nicholas, with contiguous parts of St. Paul's. Drink the first among the evils: evidence on this point. Increased drinking among women. Economic labour changes have brought an increase of gambling and betting with much excessive drinking and low life. Except 'bullies' the slaughtermen the most degraded class here: and the conditions of work in the slaughter houses have degrading effect on girls employed, called 'gut-girls': altogether quite exceptional amount of low toned life. Efforts made to humanize the rough girls: the work of the Deptford Fund in this direction: a successful club for the girls. Other work of the

Deptford Fund, instituted in 1894: a kitchen established for preparation of suitable meals for sick and convalescent: this does not obtain universal approval: and it is complained that a wrong impression is given of the poverty and degradation of Deptford: but poverty and distress exist, and management of Fund seems good. pp. 17-22.

Sec. iii. Newer Deptford. — St. Luke's parish: an ornate but Evangelical service and good congregation: 550 Easter communicants. The expressed object intensive—to get a firm hold of those who are already attached, rather than to bring in others. The Church of England here has the ground practically to herself: but there are two London City missionaries: the evidence of one in St. Luke's parish: the people rarely church-goers, but the men are better than their talk, and must be credited with more religion than they confess: the people especially amenable at a time of death: London with all its carelessness wonderfully tender-hearted. Among this population possible to find one hundred to attend Gospel service, and a word can be got in on occasions. The taking of drink regarded as a matter of course or necessity; but teetotallers do not help reform by looking on total abstinence as a kind of Gospel. Early marriage and low standard in the poorer parts: readiness to accept charity. Blackhorse Street the poorest and lowest here. The other missionary works mainly in St. Paul's: has a more extensive organization: a young people's mission in which most of the workers have been trained: he complains that most of the men are not sufficiently aroused to argue about religion, but some are keen politicians. A great decrease in number of public-houses, but bar accommodation increased: evidence of a City missionary as to drinking habits and the effect of the new theatre and music-hall. pp. 22-26.

St. Mark's: a free and open church with bright music which attracts a congregation, but everything on a small scale. A Congregationalist mission chapel, filled on Sunday evening with well-dressed comfortable members of the working class: leans too much on the parent church in Lewisham High Road: enthusiasm lacking: Deptford looked upon as a 'hard district.' St. Paul's parish west of High Street may be classed with St. Mark's but contains some poor places, including the notorious Baildon Street. A City missionary here says that the few who attend his services are from the surrounding poor districts. Baildon Street a *cul-de-sac*: a very rough place containing two common lodging-houses: extract from our notes on the street. pp. 26-27.

Sec. iv. The Southern and Western Parishes.—All Saints' parish: to the north is Hatcham Park, peopled mainly by clerks and artisans: to the south a poorer colony mostly of labourers: the poorer parishioners do not come to church, but from the others good congregations are drawn. St. James', Hatcham, bandied between High and Low: now Evangelical: fortunate in a succession of efficient incumbents: north of New Cross Road wholly working class, south mainly of middle and lower middle, but social trend downwards: 25,000 inhabitants with three churches, four mission buildings and five schools, five clergy, four paid lay assistants, and some four hundred honorary helpers. The churches filled, but bulk of working class parishioners indifferent and untouched: blatant atheism dead, but scepticism increasing, induced by fact that 'men's lives are not right': this view of the vicar confirmed by Baptist minister, who says the working classes are impregnated with free thought, not because they believe the Bible to be untrue, but because they would like to think so. St. James' and St. George's draw middle class, St. Michael's working class. Large Sunday schools, Band of Hope, &c.: altogether a very active organization, well spoken of by its neighbours.

The Baptists, Wesleyans, and Congregationalists all represented in this parish. The Baptist minister in Brockley Road says that in spite of newcomers, who attend no place of worship, the churches are still mostly full and a great force. The Baptists have two mission halls in poor part of Deptford where they have a fair success with children and women, but complete failure with men: a good deal of giving in connection with the mission. The Wesleyan Church in New Cross Road: mainly middle-class congregation. Ludwick Hall, Clifton Road: another branch of Lewisham High Road Congregational Church: the principal work a Sunday school: the numbers attracted to the hall not large. The parent church is quite full: of its well-to-do congregation many come from a distance: has 1042 members, and is the most influential church in a well-ordered district of church-goers: its efforts for the poorer classes and for its own young people. St. John's Church well spoken of by surrounding Nonconformists: the parish much of it poor. A Strict Baptist "Zion" with good congregation and large Sunday school. The Methodists at Brunswick Chapel: comfortable working-class people: their relief work: their spiritual work mainly among their own members, but the minister emphasized the changed attitude of the Nonconformist churches to the poor: desperately earnest efforts now made to bring in those outside, not entirely without response. The People's Hall: a Presbyterian Mission in Broadway, Deptford: great anticipations and early enthusiasm, but high level of past zeal cannot be sustained: the work an admixture of philanthropy and the Gospel enlivened by concerts: their relief does far more harm than good. The parent Presbyterian church very prosperous and well filled: extracts from its report: the simple language of a simple faith. The Wesleyans have two churches, and find this a good neighbourhood with growing congregations: at Harefield Road they have two small mission rooms. St. Catherine's Church in a well-to-do district has no difficulties, financial or numerical. St. Peter's, Brockley: the parish very well-to-do: the people successful and independent: the church assists poorer parishes: the vicar a remarkable man and powerful preacher. A noticeably friendly feeling amongst all the denominations in this neighbourhood. A City missionary speaks of the great development of religious work in Deptford in fifty years: but the population does not respond very well, and he says the churches, except St. James', are not doing so well as a few years ago: if true, this due to great influx of working class whose interests lie rather in racing and betting. pp. 28-37.

Sec. v. Local Administration.—At the time of inquiry the old Greenwich Board of Works still ruled Deptford. Complete class division between north and south of New Cross Road reflected on Board of Works: but the resultant of opposing forces not amiss: general verdict of approval. Housing and sanitation. Complaints as to the poor district, but west of High Street reports favourable, though even in respectable quarters some overcrowding: great demand for houses, and rents rising. Health satisfactory; but distinctions drawn between high and low ground. Streets well kept and well lighted, and a good deal accomplished in securing open spaces. pp. 37-40.

GREENWICH. Vol. V., Pt. I., chap. ii., pp. 41-74.

Sec. i.—East and West Greenwich almost completely separated by the Hospital and Park with Blackheath in the rear. The charm of the royal borough of Greenwich. The route adopted in this district. pp. 41, 42.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 43, 44.

Sec. ii. The poor part of West Greenwich.—St. Peter's parish is peculiarly isolated and entirely poor: its unique character. No church or chapel other than the parish church: but a City missionary at work, and an undenominational Sunday school. No area in London more crowded and poor, but not so degraded as parts of Deptford, and some improvement in thirty years owing to the expulsion of the poorest by forbidding of overcrowding and closing of cellar dwellings: the work suffers through deterioration of the wealthy neighbouring districts: schools full but church empty: people 'completely friendly but utterly apathetic': successful temperance work both among children and adults. The Ragged School and Boys' Institute: 348 in the School, and 70 in the Lads' Institute: the work not very successful and conceived on too narrow lines. The City missionary's work. The evidence of the master and mistress of neighbouring Board school: 'self-respect' the most important lesson learnt: characteristics of the children. Extracts from our notes as to this district. Drink the curse of the people, but all agree that the conditions are improving, and that there is diminished roughness, but the improvement is largely due to the removal of the undesirable: though beyond this is the influence of education: religion in any highly developed form takes no present place, and fails here to an unusual degree to penetrate the lives of the people. pp. 42-50.

Sec. iii. The remainder of West Greenwich.—St. Alfege, the mother parish church, under the late Mr. Brooke Lambert: very different methods from St. Peter's, but the contrast in attendances explained rather by difference of population, described here as one-third gentry and shopkeepers, one-third artisans, one-third poor: but there is downward tendency at the top: the poor mainly in East Greenwich: for them special mission services which they do not attend. St. Marys', linked to St. Alfege, once the fashionable church, now neglected: but at St. Alfege a large congregation to a good parochial service and the broadest of Broad Church doctrine. The vicar emphasized the superior claims of social to religious work: the object aimed at is knowledge of the people, and the mutual benefit that arises from intercourse kept clear of hypocrisy or cadging. pp. 50-52.

The Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady "Star of the Sea" on Croome's Hill: the Catholic population small and scattered, and the church mainly used by the comparatively well-to-do: the poorer Catholics live near the river and are more likely to attend Mass at a church on a lower level. The Brethren in King George Street: their retiring attitude. The Wesleyan Church in London Street: not at present very successful: the district 'overdone with religious effort': the Wesleyans suffer from the outward drift of the well-to-do, and the work now conducted on mission lines. Mr. Charles Spurgeon's Baptist Church: an unbroken success from the start, though the work has changed in character with a changing population: this successful church draws from other less thriving Nonconformist bodies: the church a genuine religious force: its firm grip on the younger generation: except by minor charities the poor not touched: no missions connected with the church. The vicar of St. Paul's on the difficulties he has to contend with: growing indifference on matters of religion and consequent slackness extends even to church-goers: indications of this attitude. Holy Trinity parish has two churches: neither has large congregation: not a church-going population. Baptist Church in Lewisham Road. Undenominational Mission in Blissett Street. District said to be 'over churched and over chapelled': their adherents, actual and possible, scattered far and wide, and small in number compared to whole population. pp. 52-58.

Sec. iv. East Greenwich.—St. Mary's Institute represents St. Alfege in the East Greenwich section of the parish: its kindergarten work among the poor children: A Board school in Old Woolwich Road and its efforts to defeat truancy by athletic enterprise: development of self-respect and self-restraint, by the discipline of ordered games. A City missionary's evidence: no place ever so thoroughly and constantly worked as East Greenwich: covered with mission halls and workers: but the people don't go to church or chapel. The huge parish of Christ Church with two churches and a large organization: Christ Church obtains fair congregations of middle class: the vicar admitted that short of some great revival he saw no chance of winning the working classes to religious observances: but the Church here well in touch with the people in other ways. St. Andrew's mission district in Bugsby's Marsh till recently one of the most out-of-the-way spots conceivable: now made accessible by Blackwall Tunnel: hoped that the Marshes will become one of the best parts of East Greenwich, but the earlier building was much of it a disgrace. The opinions of three Broad Church parsons as to the condition of the people, social and religious, here. pp. 59-64.

The district north of Trafalgar Road: everywhere the poor are present but no overwhelming amount of poverty: the religious competition here does not conduce to success. Marlborough Hall, Old Woolwich Road, a Mission of the 'Open Brethren': about forty volunteer workers, mostly young people: this church offers to some just what their souls demand: the total numbers reached and held are not great, but this, so far as it goes, is sound, genuine religious work. Wesleyan Mission at Victoria Hall: less spontaneous: adopts the usual social programme for evangelizing the poor, but attracts the pick of the people rather than those for whom intended. A Baptist Church in Woolwich Road: started and succeeded as a small mission, but failure as a church. Rothbury Hall: a Congregational mission: a pauperizing influence and not effective from the religious standpoint: the Sunday school the principal piece of work, eight hundred children in average attendance: a good deal of money spent on social work. A small Salvation Army corps: no permanent force in the work of the Salvation Army in South East riverside London. Though no organized co-operation there is unusual good feeling and friendliness between the various religious bodies here. The Roman Catholics have only a thousand in their census: the people here better than at Deptford, though rough: attendance at Mass fairly good: systematic collection of money by lay collectors weekly: the priest goes to each district once in five weeks, when 'white money' is forthcoming. The evidence of a London City missionary: the people ready to listen, but not willing to take the trouble to go to church. Another missionary, working in the marsh, visits chiefly in the factories and is well received by the men but 'cannot see much change in them': but thinks the marsh dwellers attend well at the large mission halls: their simple lives: both district and people growing better. pp. 64-70.

Sec. v. East Greenwich (*continued*).—As we pass from the river to east and south-east we leave behind nearly all signs of poverty. Maze Hill Congregationalist Church: has a quiet, comfortable congregation in which the lower middle class predominates. St. George's, Westcombe Park: severely Evangelical and not well attended. St. John's: a divided population but none really poor: an upward tendency in the working-class district, downward in the wealthy. The church well filled or full. The Wesleyans in Old Dover Road: a small church but full morning and evening: the 'cause' a growing one: the people of the neighbourhood unusually godly and earnest: much competition for new-comers. Baptists and Presbyterians. Blackheath on the whole is Church and Evangelical, but much indifferentism among the rich. pp. 70-72.

Sec. vi. Local Administration. — Local opinions concerning administration at Greenwich not altogether consistent: but general opinion that the work of the Board was efficient. Poor Law administration in Deptford and Greenwich 'both well and badly done' depending on the relieving officer: out-relief granted too easily, but Guardians learning by experience, though still opposed to Whitechapel system: work conscientiously done. pp. 73, 74.

Descriptive Notes. Map Q. Deptford and Greenwich. General character. Poverty areas. Employments. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 75-78.

Places of Worship. List of parish churches situated in the district described in Chaps. I. and II. (Pt. I.) with other places of worship grouped according to their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 78-79.

Map Q. Deptford and Greenwich (1900). Opposite p. 80.

WOOLWICH (WITH CHARLTON AND PLUMSTEAD), Vol. V., Pt. I. chap. iii., pp. 81-138.

Sec. i. Charlton.—Woolwich and Greenwich connected by Charlton, the road through being a raised causeway over marshy ground, much of which between road and river is unfit for building, though here have been built in places the wretched homes of a very poor class, which would be better destroyed. To the south of the road the ground rises to the old village of Charlton. pp. 81, 82.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on area included therein. pp. 83, 84.

The riverside parishes in Charlton are Holy Trinity (High) and St. Thomas (Low). Holy Trinity lies on lower level, socially and physically: attendances scanty and work discouraging: solace sought in caring for the individual and letting the mass go by: but indifference prevails: the spirit of the Arsenal and factory work generally adverse to religion: the parish a comparatively new one carved out of St. Paul's, Old Charlton: contains a degraded and brutalized population crowded into a group of streets, which run down to the river on the eastern side, and a respectable but religiously indifferent working class on the western side. St. Thomas's parish: a mixed population of eleven thousand for which the church provides the kind of Evangelical service which is to the taste of the church-going section, but the mass of the people untouched. In the better part of the parish we are conscious of the broad wave of prosperity which springs from employment at the Arsenal: great demand for small houses with small gardens, and whole streets of such built and occupied. In this parish two streets of slums near the river, and other streets occupied by a low class of casual workers at present earning high wages, spent largely on drink. Here if anywhere in London might arise trouble if there were any serious check to prosperity. St. Paul's ill-placed as regards the bulk of the new population on the lower ground near the station: gathers a 'natural congregation' of middle class church-goers and six hundred working-class children come to Sunday school. St. Luke's: a parish of negatives: no poor, no working class, no Sunday school, no visitors, no magazine, no report: none of the ordinary things: congregation largely army people who are well-to-do but not wealthy. Group of streets known as Sunfields, in St. John's Blackheath parish, contain a decent but rather poor working class who are sought for by the various religious bodies with more than common assiduity. St. James's, Kidbrooke, remarkable in that five sixths of the parish might be, but is not built over: church-going is usual and the position of the church strong. St. Michael's: a small district cut out of St. James's: a well-to-do congregation helping poorer parishes. pp. 82-90

Sec. ii. Three aspects of Woolwich.—Woolwich has three distinct aspects: (1) Barracks and military. (2) The Arsenal. (3) The Dust-hole. The Dust-hole: a quite small area by the river: its furnished rooms and common lodging-houses a resting place for the stream of tramps in or out of London, and the home of an extremely low class of prostitutes: compares with Notting Dale and Dorset Street: the whole area might and should be swept away. Here religion exerts no power: all attempts fail: opinions of workers. The houses here not so degraded in appearance as the people. The place not really important: only an accidental gathering of degraded elements which exist in any large city. pp. 90-92.

Woolwich as a garrison town: dominated by barracks and military. The Garrison Church of St. George: Sunday morning church parade the event of the week: other churches complain of the crowds attracted as onlookers. The principal churches of other sects in the neighbourhood reserve many seats for soldiers. Soldiers by no means wanting in religious feeling: records of the Wesleyan Home: the proportion affected among soldiers probably as great as among civilians: circumstances of soldier's life favour all the ordinary developments of religious faith: this applies to officers as much as men, and when they retire many are drawn to home mission work: number of small missions in neighbourhood of Woolwich. The presence of the soldiers affects every form of social life in Woolwich: they contribute to gaiety and to vice. pp. 92-94.

The Arsenal: its influence perhaps greatest in Plumstead. Great pressure of work before and still more during the war: earnings high and regular: for the time being all has been prosperity: Dockyard and other large works also active. An abnormal proportion of young men, married and single, attracted: the great economic factor of the situation is the creation of homes on a remarkable scale: pressure upon house accommodation very great and extraordinary rise of rents: good profits made by speculative builders, and larger and larger schemes projected: the schemes of a private builder and the Woolwich Co-operative Society: the foundation and progress of this society: at the end of 1900 had more than seventeen thousand members, nearly £275,000 of capital and yearly sales of £350,000: its success one of the best proofs of prosperity among the working classes: it tells of the money which reaches the home and is spent on the family. pp. 94-99.

Sec. iii. Religious effort in Woolwich.—Woolwich the field of many efforts which, although the measure of success is disappointing, are deserving of praise. The old parish church of St. Mary Magdalene: the rector a remarkable and representative man: his work an admixture of failure and success: perhaps attempts in vain to reconcile High Church principles with popular aims: this incompatibility shown in an address to his people: the parish organization: the church more successful than most in attracting a considerable proportion of decent working class, but cannot be said that the working man comes to any great extent: but it is, so far as it goes, a church of the people. A churchman at the Arsenal estimates that of one hundred men in one shop thirty attend church once or twice a year, twelve are chapel goers, and eight church. Holy Trinity includes the Dust-hole: a centre of even unusually devoted work, but little precisely Church activity: the vicar belongs to the class who apparently fail and yet succeed: quotations from an address to his people: the church once fashionable, now with difficulty pays its way: ambitious music. Mr. Wilson at the Baptist Tabernacle in Beresford Street: his large congregation mainly drawn from amongst prosperous artisans: his success attributed to sympathy between pastor and people: the impulse comes from him, all else from them: this work more akin to the new Wesleyan than the old Baptist spirit: the least satisfactory development is the attempts to rouse dormant souls by emotional appeals to 'experiences.'

Congregationalist, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Presbyterian, and Strict Baptist churches in this neighbourhood have a fairly strong natural body of supporters, mainly middle class and tradesmen, though none of them touch the life of the people in any very successful way. St. John's, very large church and greatly overpewed: no parochial feeling: of those who rent pews only three are parishioners. St. Michael's: a stronghold of Ritualism and some local success claimed: number of communicants large compared to church attendance: a devout spirit manifest. Roman Catholic Church near the barracks: apart from soldiers the flock mostly Irish employed at the Arsenal: many indifferent or difficult to reach. pp. 99-110.

Sec. iv. Plumstead.—The general religious tone Evangelical: at one time shared with Woolwich a reputation of parish neglect, and one parish still retains the reputation: but not very easy to trace much difference in the broad results on the population between activity and neglect. St. James', an old-established Evangelical church: the most remarkable feature is the number of church workers of artisan or lower middle class: a genuine religious gathering with an earnest devotional spirit, but the class touched select. St. Margaret's: a large and scattered parish: but the work mainly among the lower middle class people and the quite upper working class people on the high ground round the church: excellent congregations, but again the church reaches only a selection. All Saints': a more definitely middle class church: less said about indifference: even mention of a particular keenness on religious questions: successful church among the class concerned, but the working class practically uninterested and untouched. St. Mark's: a mission district detached from St. Nicholas: the missioner a remarkable man: on Sunday evening the church crowded with the most distinctly popular audience to be found in the district: a church which breaks new ground and collects the less well-to-do and less socially respectable of the working classes who constitute the parishioners. The Ascension district: another detachment from St. Nicholas: another effort to catch the elusive working man. St. Nicholas: a service a century behind the age: if no failure, it is because nothing new is attempted: the parish of King Log. A contrast to the new mission district of St. Paul's. St. John's: the only exponent of High Church principles in the neighbourhood: a good congregation at night, mostly of young women. A Baptist church composed almost entirely of earnest working men: its pastor on the art of winning and holding such a congregation: preaching the essential thing.—Other chapels in this neighbourhood all fairly successful: draw their adherents from the strongly religious substructure of the English working class, but if every church and chapel were full the mass of the population would remain untouched. North Woolwich: an anomalous area on the north of the Thames: in the diocese of St. Alban's. pp. 111-119.

Sec. v. Various opinions.—One of the ablest of the Church of England clergy convinced that the only hope of advance lies in concentration: each church must endeavour to obtain a firm hold of a few: this the chief use of missions. Another attributes the apathy mainly not to atheism, but to the general tendency to a low moral standard. Opinions of a prominent Congregationalist: new members not conversions, but the children of Christian people: missionary methods maintained only by invincible optimism: in the Arsenal a religious man a marked man for setting up to be better than others: alludes in strong terms to the low moral tone of the Arsenal workers. A Catholic priest confirms this, but gives the district as a whole a good character. All agree that the Arsenal exercises an anti-religious influence: evidence on this point from a successful Church of

England clergyman. A Baptist attributes the overwhelming indifference to the sense of comfort and security enjoyed. An Evangelical on the 'respectable indifference': thinks there is 'too little fear of God.' A Bible Christian minister who lays aside as useless the modern methods for sugaring religion and works strongly on spiritual lines: thinks that missions do more harm than good, and denounces 'the inordinate love of pleasure as the greatest hindrance to religious work.' From every denomination we have the same story that Woolwich is worse than other places in respect of religious indifference. A vicar notes the need for more manliness in those who are religious, and denounces the apathy and selfishness of many professing Christians: but on the other side clergy and ministers of all denominations give on the whole a splendid character for devoted work to their supporters: here even more than elsewhere the work of the Church is the life of the congregation. Limitation of *clientèle* shown by fact that Evangelical character of Church of England weakens Nonconformity wherever it occurs, though it may help High Church. pp. 119-124.

Sec. vi. Social Influences.—The Woolwich Polytechnic: started by Mr. Quintin Hogg as a Young Men's Christian Institute: fell into financial difficulties, from which it was saved by development of its educational side: and now there has been a fresh movement in the social and religious direction: a large men's service on Sunday afternoon attended chiefly by respectable working men: but it is mainly as an educational institute that it is important: its curriculum very comprehensive, but does not attract artisans and mechanics in large numbers, but rather the class above. Excellent arrangements for social and educational recreation at the Arsenal: a witness on its moral tone: the Arsenal football ground on the marshes: consequences on health and habits of overtime at the Arsenal. Employment at the Arsenal said to narrow the class point of view: the men become selfish and even conservative as the result of employment by the State: due also to fact that all engaged are employees. Thrift in many cases said to be carried to the extent of meanness: a getting and grasping spirit prevails, but this only extends to a minority. At present (1900) all have plenty: it 'is a prosperous town of prosperous artisans and working men'; all say there ought to be no poor. Drink: much is taken with decreasing effect: public-houses reported as well conducted. Clubs have a bad reputation. We hear little of women drinking. Unusual for wives to work. A great marrying district and the moral standard on sexual matters high: large families usual. Vice is professional: soldiers a difficulty: but a great improvement among them both as to drink and vice. pp. 124-129.

Sec. vii. Local Government.—Woolwich and Plumstead remarkable for broad streets, sudden hills and unexpected turnings, but the natural beauties of their position thrown away; the Common irretrievably ruined: forethought wanting. Plumstead dull: Bostall Wood and Heath acquired by L.C.C. The open fields and woods in this direction perhaps mainly due to bad service of trains, which is a grievous inconvenience to the existing population. When our inquiry was made the local administration was in the hands of the vestries of Woolwich and Plumstead; 'a low moral tone' complained of. Housing: at Woolwich, the trouble old buildings and crowding; at Plumstead, new and shoddy work and rapid extension. Rents rising everywhere. Baths, wash-houses, and electric lighting works. Roads clean and well kept. Poor Law: the administration active and the policy progressive. pp. 130-133.

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BATTERSEA. Vol. V., Pt. II., chap. i., pp. 149-175.

Sec. i. Nine Elms and the neighbourhood.—The sketch map of South-West shows a district bounded by the river, and intersected in every direction by railway lines: it ends both to South and West in open fields: a district of rapid and recent changes. pp. 149, 150.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on area included therein. pp. 151, 152.

Nine Elms: an area of very degraded poverty: description of it from our notes and opinions of the curate-in-charge and the Roman Catholic priest. Mrs. Despard and her work: she is a Roman Catholic, but there is no trace of the propagandist spirit; and the work is social rather than religious: mainly centres in a boys' club: the problem of 'after.' For serious crime Mrs. Despard gives the district a clear bill: drink and quarrelling the local vices. A girl's club in New Road: the basis of the work friendship. In the two neighbouring parishes the religious bodies work mainly as missions: St. Andrew's and its (late) ultra-Protestant vicar: a Primitive Methodist Chapel: the people around show a general lack of interest. The most successful work a Presbyterian mission attached to Trinity Presbyterian Church, Clapham Road. pp. 150-156.

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Between Battersea Park Road and the railway the streets are poor and the people practically untouched by church, chapel or mission: the poverty not intense, but all pervading. A mission which deals with crippled children in South London, and locally concentrates on gipsy encampments in the neighbourhood. pp. 157, 158.

South of the railway a remarkable effort to establish permanently satisfactory conditions due to the policy and management of two large estates, the Shaftesbury Park Estate of the Artisans' Dwellings' Co. and the Flower Estate: forms a kind of social fortress: on both estates everything is done to maintain order and respectability. Between the two is the Beaufoy Estate where the houses are of the same type, but less good,

and the people more poor and crowded. On these estates there is much indifference to religion, but it is not flaunted: rather the correct thing among the respectable to attend some place of worship. The Church of the Ascension has had a great success, due to systematic visiting and definite teaching on High Church lines, and to the gift of organization. The Wesleyans in Queen's Road: a successful cause. The Primitive Methodists maintain their numbers though they complain that it is 'like preaching to a procession.' pp. 158-161.

Sec. iii. Old Battersea and the River Side.—The parish of St. Mary, Battersea: its three churches: the work inspired by the broad, genial, kindly spirit of the rector. The old parish church. Orville Road: a black spot. Europa Place: opened up and improved. Cranfield Street and Parkham Street: remarkable instances of a complete change for the better without more reconstruction than is involved in doing up the houses. At neither of the St. Mary's Churches do large numbers attend, though the number of recognised communicants is large and the parish organizations active and successful: the girls' clubs successful: managed on broad, non-puritanical lines. The Church of England the most successful here: the Roman Catholics small and scattered, and the Nonconformists weakened by the southward movement of their supporters and the incoming of dwellers in flats. While main stream of prosperity is due south, the scum and wreckage are thrown off on western edge, and render all the church work here unsatisfactory and difficult: the mass of the people are indifferent, irresponsive, and materialistic, and the incoming population makes for degradation: ministers of religion on the apathy, indifference, and social deterioration: all tell of decadence and the picture painted by the police is the darkest of all: elsewhere there has been levelling up as well as levelling down: here we have a population in which every element is deteriorating. This district a 'practising ground for deaconesses': the views of two deaconesses on the people: pre-marital relations usual between the sexes: drink increasing among women: no feeling against religion, but the deaconesses 'don't get the people to church more than one here and there': the good influence of collecting banks. In spite of discouragement the churches working hard but with little effect, though each church or chapel finds some who care. The Pentecostal League at Speke Hall: its history and growth: its object to act upon religion as a world-wide stimulus and to seek to deepen the spiritual life: its influence rather general than local. pp. 161-172.

Sec. iv. Local administration.—Mr. John Burns 'dominates' the Vestry, but as a moderating influence. Quotations from our evidence as to the work done and the men. The annual report bears evidence to thoroughness and care. Housing varies much in different parts: in some parts much overcrowding: but the inspectors vigilant: rents high and continually rising. Health fairly good: birth-rate high, death-rate low, but the averages hide the facts, so great is the difference between various parts. pp. 173-175.

CLAPHAM. Vol. V., Pt. II., chap. ii., pp. 176-191.

Sec. i. From the religious point of view.—The district round Clapham Common one of the great pools into which the living stream flows: the general character of the streets is pink, or pink barred with red, *i.e.*, comfortable working and lower middle class. St. Luke's Church: belongs to parish of St. Mary, Battersea: the most fashionable church in the neighbourhood: attended by large numbers. Never ending demand for small two-storeyed houses arranged for one or two families: occupied by people who have enough to live comfortably, though probably little saved: do not come to church much, but good respectable people, who cannot be

called irreligious. Among these the Nonconformists more successful than the Church: a successful Wesleyan Church: the neighbourhood good for Methodism. The Baptists equally successful. These and other churches confident except when they attack mission work. St. Michael's: the vicar notes a general levelling, up and down, towards the lower middle class: affects the Church financially if not numerically: not much innate religious feeling in the people. Change of tone where our map changes from pink barred to pink: more strongly marked in account given by Methodist Free Church which is situated among the pink: 'the religious faculty not much developed': complaint of the growth of Sunday visiting. Strict Baptist minister on the people. The Salvation Army fail here. The Congregationalist Church in Stormont Road: a success: the minister speaks of the neighbourhood as religious and church-going. The Presbyterians hopeful: speak of the powerful home influence. St. Mark's collects a large congregation from all round: difficulties of visiting: a remarkable Church Literary Society. St. Barnabas obtains full congregations and is the centre of much religious activity: regarded as a pillar of Protestantism. Clapham now moderately Ritualistic as compared with the Evangelicalism of the past: also one of the greatest centres of Roman Catholicism in London. The old parish church of Holy Trinity: active and successful and fills a great part in Clapham life: its congregations large in spite of change in population. The Congregationalists in Grafton Square: still fairly strong, but suffering from removals: attempt to justify their local existence by mission work. Baptist Church in Grafton Square also going down. Baptist Church in Wandsworth Road: its vigorous congregational life: the interesting opinions of its minister: difficulties in touching men and complete failure with the poor: 'church-going in London denotes a certain height in the social scale.' St. James': an Evangelical church with a large congregation: its charitable work unfavourably criticized: White Square. pp. 176-186.

Sec. ii. From the home point of view.—From the point of view of home the story here is satisfactory: the houses have had the advantage of being specially built to suit the classes that have occupied them: the object has been to provide self-contained dwellings of from three to seven rooms, and a type of house has been produced with some architectural merit. The system of three years' leases objected to as unsettling, but fits in well with the recurring incidents in the life of a house as well as the changing circumstances of the occupants. The surroundings of Clapham Common on the north and west are really Battersea and Wandsworth, though here treated as Clapham: Clapham Junction a second and greater Clapham with a very different population: the gay and crowded life round the Junction: here a good deal of vice floats on the surface. pp. 186-189.

Sec. iii. Clapham to Kennington. St. John's parish is decadent and difficult for the Church.—St. Paul's has been filled by a middle-class congregation. The Congregationalists of Grafton Square and their Mission. Another mission whose want of success on the spiritual side is very marked, and the missioner emphasizes the general failure. Christ Church filled with High Church practices. The report of a little Strict Baptist Church. pp. 190, 191.

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Places of Worship. List of parish churches situated in the district covered by sketch map No. 20, and described in Part II., Vol. V., with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 195, 196.

Map S. Battersea (1900). Opposite p. 196.

WANDSWORTH AND PUTNEY. Vol. V., Part II., chap. iii., pp. 197-218.

Sec. i. The Valley of the Wandle.—The movement of the poorest now is towards the valley of the Wandle, where building of a vile character is progressing, involving the erection of new slums. Eastward, as the ground rises to Wandsworth Common, poverty gives way to well being and even to wealth. Religious activity here takes the shape, largely, of missionary efforts competing with each other in the service of the godless poor: much competition in giving: the regular churches and chapels only fairly filled, and mission services mostly neglected. St. Faith's: a shifting population, on which the Church can exert little influence. All Saints': two churches: one in the rich district of Wimbledon Park is well attended and helps the poorer churches. The old parish church works among a more difficult population, and with the mass little success can be claimed. St. Anne's: an extensive and actively worked parish, gathering a large middle-class congregation: cleavage between middle class and poor. St. Andrew's: the vicar analyzes his people, and considers what are the motives which bring to church such of them as come. Baptists, Wesleyans, and Congregationalists, all have large and prosperous congregations on East Hill: but fail in their efforts to evangelize the neighbouring poor, and opinion expressed that small clerks and City people are almost more stubborn and difficult to reach than the working classes. Numerous missions run by these churches with little effect: a good deal of bribery: the work generally bears the character of galvanized activity without spark of vitality. Several independent missions which exhibit no special features and attain no great success: but Bramblebury Hall stands out from the rest as a private venture church rather than a mission: has a good congregation of middle-class people drawn by the preaching: the working classes are not touched. The evidence of a City missionary on the poor and their homes in the valley of the Wandle: his district not a very low one: all receive him kindly, but the majority are indifferent to religion, and it is not easy to 'get a word in for the Lord': ascribes success with working men to 'witty repartee and sanctified common sense': the lavish beer-drinking of builders' labourers. The evidence of another City missionary in the same neighbourhood, but a poorer district: has two colonies of gipsies, costers, flower sellers, &c., and the inhabitants of the low streets, of which Wardley Street and Lydden Grove are the worst, are doorstep cleaners, hog-wash gatherers, labourers, drunkards, and loose characters: Wardley Street described as worse than any part of Westminster now is. Description of Wardley Street and Lydden Grove from our notes. pp. 197-206.

Sec. ii. Putney.—Few houses on the low land of the western bank of the Wandle: such streets as there are poor. As the land rises the inhabitants rise in the social scale. The parishes of St. Stephen, St. Michael, St. Paul and St. Barnabas remarkable for their admixture of classes. The vicar of St. Michael's census as to the church-going habits of the servant-keeping section of his parishioners. As to the working classes, 'practical sympathy and friendship with the people in their homes is the only way to win sympathy for the Church.' St. Stephen's: Evangelical: good congregation: attempt made to reach the poor by mission church, but too much given: great and growing neglect of Sunday observance: Sunday recreations specially prevalent here owing to the opportunities the district offers. St. Paul and St. Barnabas: the work divided between the two churches: St. Paul's, the rich church, having morning service: St. Barnabas, the mission church, evening service: a working man's club in which drink is supplied. No Nonconformist church

of any importance here. A little unsectarian mission and a rather remarkable Roman Catholic mission church. The priest on the peculiarities of Putney. pp. 207-210.

Putney proper one large old parish with three churches, the services of which are arranged to suit various religious tastes: the Nonconformists also fully represented: but results unsatisfactory: all impatient or depressed: the work in pleasure-loving Putney is hopeless. Spurgeon on the Thames Valley: given up to the Devil and High Churchism: this view confirmed by a Baptist minister: a sporting and pleasuring element paramount in the population. The Wesleyans have a large church with a comparatively small congregation of strictly middle-class people: hardly touch the poor. The Presbyterian minister says 'the churches do not prosper; the middle class here as indifferent to religious observances as the poor elsewhere': his own congregation from a wide area and rich: religious life in Putney has suffered from marked absence of unity between Established and Free Churches. Unity Church: a combination between Baptists and Congregationalists. A retiring Congregational minister on the discouraging results of work among the new population and the poor. Emmanuel Free Church of England: the minister on the competitive hunt for Sunday-school children. Putney badly off for young people's organizations. Rich and poor closely intermingled in Putney: the riverside population a degraded set, and the action of the churches does not tend to make them less so. Altogether, no spot in London where religion plays a more unsatisfactory part than in Putney, and the lack of Christian co-operation especially marked. Down Lodge Mission established to commemorate a great Gospel revival by Moody and Sankey, but its hall now practically empty. pp. 210-215.

Sec. iii. Local Administration.—The Borough of Wandsworth with the exception of Plumstead the largest sanitary district in London: its population increased five-fold in fifty years. The late Vestry reported as on the whole satisfactory, steady going, and rather Conservative, lacking in enterprise: but almost general condemnation in the matter of new building. Health on the whole good. Open spaces plentiful. Public baths and libraries. Administration of Poor Law 'sympathetic,' 'rather lavish with out-relief.' pp. 216-218.

Descriptive Notes. Map T. Wandsworth and Putney.—General character. Poverty areas. Employment. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Places of amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 219, 220.
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Sec. ii. Passing Notes.—(1) A Sunday walk in Clapham. (2) A note on old Clapham. (3) The Caius College Mission. (4) May day festival at a Methodist Free Church. (5) Gipsies in Mills' Yard. (6) The low streets in Wandle Valley pp. 227-230.

VOLUME VI

(*Third Series: Religious Influences*)

OUTER SOUTH LONDON

[*Date of Inquiry in this District*: 1900]

THE BELT OF CROWDING AND POVERTY. Chap. i., pp. 3-36.

Sec. i. The whole district of the coloured map.—It is with the future as much as the present that we have to deal in outer and outermost South London. Here we have the problem of London's growth and expansion presented in its most regular shape under the most normal conditions. The coloured map shows at the top an almost uniform belt of crowding and poverty, from which the outward stream has flowed, following the contour of the ground, to either side of the central hills. pp. 3, 4.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 5, 6.

Sec. ii. North-West of Clapham Road.—In the streets west of Wandsworth Road in All Saints' parish we touch an extremely low level, while the adjacent streets to the east are also very poor. St. Anne's: a vicar who truly spends his life in his work: his church adherents gained one by one: admits the decline in conventional church-going, but welcomes it as in the direction of honesty: a small but very earnest congregation, many of whom are men: but a wider sphere of influence claimed for church than statistics represent: the vicar has espoused the cause of the working men in their trade disputes. Wheatsheaf Hall finds its backbone in the more religious and temperate among working men: a church formed by the efforts of a pastor who gives his services and found the money for the building of the hall: this the only competitor to the Church here, but the bulk of the population remain untouched. The Roman Catholics seek only those who acknowledge the authority of their Church. All Saints': an extremely active local organization created and sustained by the present incumbent: two churches and two mission rooms: an example of very energetic religious work of Low Church type: deep discouragement at lack of permanent result, but no relaxation of effort, and work done enormous: Sunday schools with 3500 children and two hundred teachers: an early morning service (5.30) for railway men. Here as elsewhere the attitude of the men and the bulk of the people is one of utter indifference; and this indifference is growing: slackness of many so-called Church people: 'you must be always behind them.' The Railway Mission claims some success: fully five thousand railway men in the neighbourhood and among them some religious-minded men who carry on the mission. St. Barnabas': the place of middle-class families taken by others less well-to-do: large proportion of railway workers: among the working class scarcely any go to place of worship. The minister of a Baptist chapel speaks of the change in population, and all tell of a middle class fallen to pieces, and a working class respectable but indifferent to religion, and the poor practically untouched by it. St. Stephen s, stranded by the departure of the well-to-do, has no hold on the people: half-starved struggle for existence on Evangelical lines. Trinity Church, an important Presbyterian centre in Clapham Road, draws its congregation from far and wide: the carriage folk gone and the poor class difficult to reach. St. Mark's: two mission halls and an active

organization: difficulties as to finance. Congregationalist, United Methodist Free Church, and a little Baptist mission. pp. 7-12.

All agree as to the general decadence of this district: more poverty throughout and to the west more depravity and disorder. Local authorities remiss: extracts from our notes as to the squalid and dirty condition of the streets to the east and west of Wandsworth Road: but here and there improvement noted in character of people: less roughness: houses characterized by wealth of greenery and flowers: some roads of the best working-class type, houses old but well built: but many new roads doomed to rapid decay. Great accessibility of neighbourhood makes it one which would repay improvement. Vauxhall Park not so well kept as it might be. pp. 12-15.

Sec. iii. The Sultan Street area.—This area in some ways without a counterpart in London: none where the word "outcast" is so deeply branded: no vestige of the sentiment of "home" seems to hang round it: no improvement (1900) in ten years: extract from our notes as to Hollington Street, to which Sultan Street is similar: many of the inhabitants Cockney Irish and mostly general labourers: much overcrowding: drunken and rough rather than criminal: but some crimes of violence: no house-breakers or thieves. The area strangely inaccessible. Two independent missions here: one works mostly among children: a few conversions claimed, and some improvement. The second mission belongs to Ragged School Union. The leader of the Free Salvationists regards the people here as a distinct class for whom there is little hope of permanent improvement: they may begin to reform, but relapse. Even the Roman Catholic priest received with absolute indifference. The place in its present condition may be said to have grown up in twenty-five years, under the eyes of the Church and the missions, despite the efforts of a wealthy and active vicar backed by powerful organizations: religious bodies apparently helpless to cope with degradation of this kind. If any improvement it is attributable to the Board schools. The first step to improvement here is a forcible opening up which would change the whole atmosphere: no question of absolute destruction: though overcrowded it is not insanitary. pp. 15-19.

Sec. iv. The poor part of Camberwell. — Emmanuel parish. A Baptist mission with thirty years of chequered existence: except in the fervour of the workers little to show: cold indifference and growing apathy but less hostility: growing indifference attributed to increase of prosperity with increase of drinking. A large mission remarkable in the personality of its conductor, the 'sailor preacher.' East of Camberwell Road we enter a region of much poverty, some vice, and considerable religious activity. Congregationalist mission in Waterloo Street consists mainly of Sunday schools, in consequence of failure to bring adults to religious services: but fresh effort being made: a popular Sunday school and large slate club. A Baptist mission connected with Peckham Road Tabernacle: the Sunday school consists not of the really poor, but of fairly comfortable working class: the neighbouring people described as 'dark and heathen': a principal part of the work is the distribution of tracts from door to door. The Lighthouse Mission and its manager, who is ready at a pinch to take any part: self-sacrificing and devoted effort: the services and other work: this work has a rough fibre but is earnest, genuine, and well worthy of study as a gauge of popular religious sensibilities. The Salvation Army here more successful than the missions: the corps one of the strongest in London with an individuality which has led to the secession of the Free Salvationists: both have the character of working men's churches rather than militant missions: the members prosperous: noteworthy that in the Band of Love for children a greater feature than usual is made of social

and educational work: corps has largest evening congregation in neighbourhood: but officer speaks of people as much less inclined to religion than in a Midland district. Hampden Avenue: the worst local centre of degradation outside Sultan Street area: it is a comparatively modern street of three-storeyed houses occupying the former gardens of a row of old two-storey houses: a perfect example of 'how not to do it': unfit for the habitation of decent people. pp. 19-27.

Sec. v. The remainder of the belt.—As we move east we find a greater uniformity of conditions: little either very dark or very light: great thoroughfares more rarely found and open spaces almost entirely wanting: but the district is saved from the worst features of congestion by the smallness of its houses and the liberal planning of its streets. Here the Church of England in the main occupies the field. St. George's, the Trinity Mission, affiliated to Trinity College, Cambridge: the most remarkable of its kind, but has not received the support nor achieved the results looked for: mainly from children and young people that response is won: work among adults most successful when not on definitely religious lines: the failure to reach the men the great disappointment: but in spite of all, aims are kept high and the mission has made itself respected and avoided sensationalism: the parish has all the usual organizations on a large scale. Cambridge House gives help, especially with clubs. Vigorous little Baptist church on College Green, and the 'Albany Institute,' a pious little mission. St: Luke's Church filled by a beautiful musical service and a remarkable preacher: much social and philanthropic work done, but failure to touch the mass of the people admitted and reasons given: the charities of the church bestowed in a generous and impulsive spirit. All Saints' worked with vigour: the response made by the people to thrift and social work very fair, but to spiritual effort disappointing: hope lies in the children: thrift clubs, for which the visitors collect. A small Baptist mission fails to get the people to any extent: missionary suggests that teaching of missions is not elastic enough and that they stick too close to work that is religious. Camden Church draws a large congregation almost entirely from outside, with an unusual proportion of young people, largely shop assistants: the work congregational rather than parochial. St. Chrysostom: the parish almost all poor and partly very poor indeed, but the church draws a large middle-class non-parochial congregation: said that there are plenty of church-goers here, but few true Christians among them: work among the poor, centring in the curate. A small Unitarian mission, and a Salvation Army corps which finds most of its best members among gas-workers and has outdoor services on Peckham Rye. The Baptist Church in Peckham Park Road, in spite of an indifferent position, still holds its own and is a centre of activity: the congregation represents blend of artisan and lower middle class: a solid and genuine religious structure. Roman Catholic Franciscan church with flock of many poor Irish and Italians: this district old enough to be full to the point of congestion, but too young for rebuilding: one of the worst spots is Grainger Street. The Franciscan Fathers carry on active work among their following, more on social lines than usual: leakage complained of among the poor: for many of them Catholicism will soon be only a name: charity very freely administered, and great quantities of bread given away at the monastery gates: some hostility of a no-popery character. Christ Church: good work of its kind, but little impression made. Corpus Christi Mission, stamped with a certain originality of spirit and in its success stands out among the College Missions: its religious and social operations: this mission fails in some ways, but succeeds better than most in making itself an integral part of the life of the people. pp. 27-36.

BEYOND THE BELT OF POVERTY, SOUTHWARD TO THE HILLS. Vol. VI., chap. ii., pp. 37-60.

Sec. i. From the Clapham Road to the South-Eastern and Chatham Railway.—This district characterized by its extreme accessibility to City and West End: this advantage will be the salvation of the locality if the rebuilding is wisely conceived. It is mainly occupied by lower middle and comfortable working class, but has several low slums, notably Bromsgrove Road, and in another tiny spot there are five beer-houses and one public-house with a full licence. But on the whole it is a favoured and agreeable district: none so accessible is less crowded with houses and people: its two great thoroughfares of Clapham and Brixton Road still mainly residential, and have so far largely escaped the commercial taint, and the hideous and wasteful habit of building on the gardens of the great suburban thoroughfares. The sense of space here extends to many of the side streets. pp. 37-39.

The Church of England strongly and variously represented. A great Evangelical church, of which the vicar is above all things a preacher, drawing crowds to hear him: parish management also successful: a great staff of workers and much done to reach the people: the whole parish evangelized, but here as elsewhere class distinctions draw a line which the Gospel, as preached, fails to cross. An equally great High Church: its foundation and growth: an immense organization, and money poured out freely: vicar, ten curates, a nurse, eight sisters, and over three hundred voluntary workers: 1500 communicants, 2500 day-school children, and 1500 in the Sunday schools: a large congregation, to a great extent non-parochial, mainly middle class, and increasingly so as the surrounding population falls in social scale. A great parochial church, liberal Evangelical, avoiding all extremes: equally devoted workers, as active an organization and as large a congregation. Another great church, outside the Establishment, in which the doctrines preached are unorthodox and heretical to the verge of Unitarianism, is always full: appeals to the same social strata as the other three, though probably a rather higher average: efforts to attract the working classes are without avail, but a great deal of educational and social work is carried on among the poor at missions in Lambeth. A church worked on old-fashioned lines at which the vicar has seen three waves of population come, each less amenable to Church influence than that which preceded it: the vicar expressed the view that church-going is almost entirely a question of social standing. A new man who came to a 'dead cause' and has had a revival but is still despondent, as at least two-thirds of his people go nowhere and progress is so slow: but he notes the keen, energetic work of the Church all round 'which must win.' A church with democratic methods: an elective council: the working class aimed at and touched by a number of social agencies; these, it is thought, may be the chief attraction to the church, which is however not well filled. A church which seeks to attract the working classes by lively preaching on every-day subjects with bright music and lantern services: its small iron mission church is full in the morning and crowded in the evening. pp. 39-46.

Dissent said to be weak in this district, but it is a feeding ground for the great chapels in the main roads: there are also here several successful Nonconformist churches which bear out the conclusion that religious observance follows class lines. Wesleyan church with a liturgy and splendid singing: earnest spiritual life. Congregationalist: a church which though dwindling is still a substantial wreck. Baptists: one church which holds its own among lower middle and upper working-class people in Stockwell, and several others smaller. A mission and the views of its superintendent: the ground difficult owing to the fact that the

people are of respectable artisan class: almost impossible to get the people to a service by legitimate means. A genuine working man's church belonging to the open Baptists: a dignified appeal for funds. pp. 46-49.

Sec. ii. South of Peckham Road.—The mixed population round Loughborough Junction: a district which never sleeps. St. Saviour's parish: a church fairly filled and a good deal of local attachment: divisions of class shown by visiting organization and educational system. A Congregationalist chapel suffering from the loss of its old supporters, who have moved further south: the people around described as independent, indifferent, careless: the need of finding new adherents has made this a congregation of the younger members of lower middle-class families who go their own way irrespective of their parents. Improved means of communication fall in with freedom of movement and selection of church. St. Matthew's, Denmark Hill, a rendezvous of the rich, but the numbers depend upon the occupant of the pulpit: the parish includes a large working-class district as well as some poor who are 'swamped in charity:' The vicar's account of his wealthy parishioners. A rich German colony here and a German church. A Roman Catholic church active in propaganda: always a number of converts on hand. St. Giles's: a small congregation compared to size of church and parish: social decay and general neglect of religious observances complained of, as also charity ill-administered by visitors. The Baptists in Denmark Place and at South London Tabernacle, Peckham Road: a great force and an attractive service: the modern spirit prevails: as a middle-class organization the church is the centre of very vigorous congregational life: unusual social activity. The Presbyterians hardly less successful: the congregation about one-third Scotch Presbyterians by birth, the rest heterogeneous, but few from the 'outside indifferent mass': the mission work among the poor not satisfactory. A Congregationalist church: a singularly perfect specimen of its kind, full of religious and social life and activity. All Saints': an eclectic congregation formed of old-fashioned Evangelicals who prefer a black gown in the pulpit. St. Mary Magdalene: a simple old-fashioned Evangelical service and a middle-class congregation: a movable pulpit. St. Mark's: fairly large congregations drawn from among the better-to-do population, but failure among the poor. St. Jude's: High Church, but not the highest: an attempt to reach the poor by democratic methods has not met with any great success: a small parochial congregation: a few men brought in, but general sense of failure for which the usual explanations are given. A successful Baptist church in Rye Lane: the people drawn from a wide circuit, but mainly from the south: a busy and pious church. The Wesleyans are feeling the impoverishing effects of the outward trend of population, though in numbers they are holding their own. Congregationalists at Clifton Chapel not of late very successful, but great hopes of a new minister. pp. 50-60.

FURTHER SOUTH. Vol. VI., chap. iii., pp. 61-87.

Sec. i. The Western Side.—St. Matthew's, Brixton: large congregations, but not sufficient to fill the huge church: the people strictly middle class. The mission work of little avail. St. Paul's, West Brixton: disadvantageous situation: the worshippers, chiefly of middle class, drawn largely from outside the parish: the vicar complains of the habit of 'wandering,' and of indifference: he compares the Londoner unfavourably with the Yorkshireman. St. Saviour's: a quiet going Evangelical church with good congregations: exercises a strong and genuine religious influence. St. Jude's: not unsuccessful except as regards mission services. All these Evangelical churches complain of

cycling and other forms of Sabbath breaking, especially the Sunday playing of the London County Council band. St. Catherine's: a dead church. St. Paul's, Herne Hill: in past times a church of the rich, but the surrounding population is increasing and changing in class, with the usual effect on services. pp. 61-64.

The Nonconformists work here without any great measure of success. A remarkable Baptist minister, steeped in piety, prayer, and contemplation: his flock middle-class people of serious character. Four other Baptist churches: not very successful. The Wesleyans on Brixton Hill: a strong church, with mission work in this area. A Congregationalist church in St. Matthew's parish: a strictly middle-class body: difficulty of mixing the poor with them: a social meeting in the minister's drawing room on Sundays. A Unitarian church presided over by a man of ideals, and other small churches and missions in this district. A peculiarly large and uniform patch of poverty in streets to the north of Cornwall Road: all coloured light blue, but some are old houses, while others are quite new ones which have fallen, and have a worse character than the older streets. pp. 64-69.

Sec. ii. The Eastern Side.—On the west side of Peckham Rye the churches are all High or very High: a neighbouring Roman Catholic priest compares them with his own plain doings and modest building. St. Saviour's: a popular place of worship: services all day and many come: the vicar a man of energy and power: his 'dodges': many attractions draw middle and lower middle-class people. St. John's: rather disorganized at time of inquiry, but never well filled: the day and Sunday schools the most vigorous part of the work. St. Clement's: worked on definite 'Church lines,' which the vicar thinks rather repel than attract: much of the parish very poor, and the congregation said to be representative of all classes. St. Peter's: a beautiful church in a splendid position, fairly filled morning and evening. pp. 69-71.

Wesleyan Church, Barry Road, the most important of the Wesleyan churches: large congregations morning and evening: extensive operations. A great Congregational church: filled both morning and evening with middle-class people drawn from all sects: no attempt to mix the classes or evangelize the poor: but there is a domestic mission. A second strong Congregational church in Dulwich Grove: its crowded congregation drawn from the lower side of middle class: full of congregational life and energy: their successful Literary Society. Three Baptist churches: two successful and busy, and one which has failed. Free Methodists: a hard struggle to hold their own among so much competition: the view held that Londoners are becoming more detached, and less bound to any particular organization: a good deal to support this view: the aggregate of loosely attached is great: this district contributes largely to churches more in centre of London: as an offset against districts where hardly any ever go to church, there are probably others where most of the women and children and fathers of families attend more or less regularly. Primitive Methodists and Salvation Army. A mission founded and maintained by chimney sweeps. pp. 71-75.

East of Peckham Rye. The Cheltenham College Mission: draws only a small congregation mainly from the better streets: conscientious painstaking work, but not very successful. An old-established Congregationalist church: the congregation though less wealthy than formerly, maintains its numbers fairly well. The Salvation Army, possibly strengthened by secession: appeals to a lower class than the churches: but attracts a decent working class rather than the poor. The seceders also doing well, though still a small body, they make up for want of

numbers by intensity of conviction and extreme strictness of their rule of life: a remarkable and devoted little body, doing good work: their verdict on the people around: drink the great curse: the effect of conversion. St. Giles's mission church on the Waverley Estate. pp. 75-79.

Sec. iii. The Concourse on Peckham Rye.—A great district for open-air preaching: people primarily attracted by the band, and the opportunity seized: the result described as 'pandemonium,' and 'religious cockpit': but a minister thinks there is just a balance of good. Some evidence from our notes. The South London Christian Union and their great demonstration on Unity Sunday. pp. 79-81.

Sec. iv. Social Conditions.—In this district social distinctions are marked. St. Saviour's parish deteriorating: much coming and going, and those who come poorer than those who leave. St. John's: the better parts safe from deterioration, but in the northern part a good deal of poverty and a very bad dark blue patch at the apex of the Common: contains a colony of Italians and rough labouring people. South of Goose Green, and especially in St. Clement's parish, there is a good deal that is unsatisfactory: the district a refuge for some of the leavings of Central London: here, too, building ran ahead of demand, resulting in empty houses and low rents: but of late improvement noted. In Cheltenham Mission many poor, mostly unskilled, though public-houses mainly responsible for the existing poverty. Throughout whole region poverty has increased, but a good deal of respectability still clings to the poor districts: with improved means of communication the district is likely to improve. pp. 81-83.

Sec. v. Local Administration.—The administration of the great Borough of Lambeth very slightly affected by change from Vestry to Borough Council: criticisms on its action mostly concern the northern portion, where difficulties of housing and sanitation chiefly exist. Little change, too, in Camberwell: the late Vestry very progressive, but intensely political: its work seems to have been good: complaints almost all apply to particular areas. Health varies with the soil, but has improved: fall in death-rate. A good deal of work done in providing necessary drainage. pp. 84, 85.

Lambeth Union: largest area in the metropolis: too large for efficient administration: a good deal of out-relief, said to be inadequate and excessive: but there is proof of careful consideration. Camberwell Union: rapid growth of pauperism: policy to give out-relief in preference to indoor, wherever it could be done: the system generally recognised as a great evil: said to attract poor from elsewhere. Luxuries provided for the old and infirm indoor poor. Some recent co-operation between Guardians and C. O. S. pp. 85-87.

Descriptive Notes. Map U. Outer South.—General character. Poverty areas. Employments. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes in population. Means of communication. pp. 88-92.

Places of Worship.—List of parish churches situated in the district described in Chaps. I. to III. (Vol. VI.), with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 92-95.

Map. U. Outer South London (1900). Opposite p. 96.

OUTLYING SOUTHERN SUBURBS: THE WESTERN PORTION. Vol. VI., chap. iv., pp. 97-134.

Sec. i. From Roehampton to Balham.—Roehampton: a little country village: population consists of the rich and those who serve them, with a few middle class just coming. The Church of England well supported: all sects pull together under the leadership of the Church, and very friendly relations prevail. The Roman Catholics strong in the

village, having two convents and a training college for priests, besides a large church. pp. 97, 98.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 99, 100.

Tooting and Balham. St. Mary Magdalene: mainly middle class: an essentially church-going people: the parish church crammed. The Baptists equally successful: their large church filled: noted here that servants rarely attend the same church as their masters and mistresses, also that the limit of house to house visiting comes where a servant is kept. The Tooting Church Institute and Mr. C. H. Baker: numbers grown from forty-four in 1871 to fully four thousand: the balance between middle and working classes and between education, recreation, and thrift, and other forms of social work well preserved: religion not pushed forward but not neglected. pp. 98-103.

Sec. ii. Balham and Upper Tooting.—The Church of the Ascension: the parish population doubled in ten years: the incomers belong to lower middle and working class: not particularly church-going people, though from them and from outside good congregations are gathered: the working classes hold aloof. St. Mary's, Balham: in twenty-one years the vicar has seen great changes, but the process is almost, if not quite, complete: he notes the final passing of the Clapham sect, followed by a reaction towards Ritualism: but every variety of sect still represented within the parish: the church always well filled. Holy Trinity, Upper Tooting: also great changes in twenty years: the new people 'migratory and lacking local ties': during this time all officers of church have changed, and all but five of seatholders: in spite of changes respectability remains the general characteristic: church well filled, mainly parochial middle or lower middle class: nearly nine hundred communicants at Easter. Wesleyans and Presbyterians here have fairly large and strictly middle-class congregations, and do a good deal in the social way for the class below. Balham said to have developed more quickly than the churches. The neighbourhood a 'cut between Clapham and Tooting': 'prosperous middle-class Balham': but some admixture of classes: poor class in Larch Road, partly Cockney Irish, found difficult by priest. Convent of Nuns in Nightingale Square. pp. 103-106.

Sec. iii. Summerstown and Tooting Graveney.—Here we return to the deplorable conditions of the Wandle Valley—a region of mists, low-lying, on heavy clay soil, in itself and its surroundings exceedingly depressing: without strong counteracting influences bound to sink lower: old parts deteriorating and new streets show signs of squalor: building proceeding rapidly with houses of low class: population largely off-scourings of Battersea and Central London, but its character improves on the higher ground and south of Merton Road. pp. 106, 107.

St. Mary's: being rehabilitated after a scandalous failure. St. Augustine's Mission District: largely a colony of men connected with the building trades, the advance guard of a coming population: a class among whom religious work is never successful. St. Nicholas highly spoken of. The Congregational Church here: successful work in a growing district: the people said to be unusually responsive to religious effort. Baptists, Strict Baptists and Salvation Army work in this parish. The Roman Catholics. The poor bits of Tooting Graveney: Totterdown and Salvador, the latter including three new streets of the worst type. London County Council estate and new electric trams. Superabundance of small beer-houses and much drinking. pp. 107-109.

Sec. iv. Streatham.—St. Leonard's the mother parish: a large church well filled with a middle-class congregation: services of cathedral type: mission church of All Saints serves similar congregation: at both the

morning attendance the larger: large dispensation of charities among the poor. Other sects working here. St. Alban's: a church well filled, mostly with the wealthy: service avoids extremes. St. Andrew's: Evangelical services well attended. Immanuel, Lower Streatham, and its mission district of St. John follow Evangelical lines, and are very actively conducted: every grade from poor to rich represented in the population, and all more or less reached by the Church. St. Anselm's mission district: High ritual: population half City men and half weekly wage earners, including some poor. Wesleyans, Strict Baptists and Open Baptists here. Christ Church (Low) and St. Peter's (High Church), with St. Thomas's and St. Margaret's cater for a changing population now much mixed: contains a fair proportion of church-goers. The vicar of Christ Church on his parish and parishioners. St. Thomas's: early failure turned into success: the vicar's analysis of his adherents. The Congregationalists on Streatham Hill. pp. 110-115.

Sec. v. Tulse Hill and Brockwell Park.—Holy Trinity: a very well-to-do parish: nearly all its poor transferred to other parishes: the vicar regrets the loss, regarding their presence as a vent for practical Christianity: the church practically full on Sunday morning and fairly filled with different class at night. St. Matthias' in the earliest stage: a new parish, a new church, and a new population: respectability prevails. The Wesleyan Church on Brixton Hill: one of the wealthiest Wesleyan congregations in London: a serious and solid congregation, but with worldly sympathies, not discouraged by its minister. The Baptists. pp. 115-117.

Sec. vi. Norwood.—St. Luke's, West Norwood: the old 'village' the centre now of a large population consisting of City men of moderate means and a large element of working class, among whom there is not much poverty nor many church-goers: good attendance at church, but no great keenness of religious feeling. The Congregationalists have two or three churches here: find some lack of zeal among their people. The Wesleyans show more vigour: a successful church near Tulse Hill and mission church in poorer part near Herne Hill. Other smaller churches of various sects. The main religious development here is that of the Baptists, who seem to have prospered by division. Chatsworth Road Church, and Mr. Archibald Brown: success won in a ruined church on sternly religious lines: social agencies discarded and a great feature made of week-night prayer meetings: of those who have joined many 'have come from the world,' but more are backsliders who have been rewon. This church, like others, draws a particular class, those whose mental comfort demands an absorbing spiritual life. Mr. Gooch's church: a richer congregation, but again earnest Christians selected from among many 'Sabbath-day ignorers': and again successful week-night meetings: its remarkable Sunday school. pp. 117-122.

Sec. vii. Dulwich.—St. Barnabas: a fine new church, well attended mainly by the middle class, the rich still going to the college chapel, which now serves no parish purpose, but is simply the centre of a congregation. All Saints: a large and beautiful church which with other buildings has been paid for by the congregation, a well-to-do people: a well-attended church. St. Stephen's: 'no poor; hence our work is not on the usual lines': but a poor district in Camberwell is affiliated to church. Emmanuel: a mixed population, half lower middle, half artisan, with some poor: unusual success with a working men's club and institute paid for and managed by the church. A London City missionary who works in and about Rommany Road: his work successful and useful. Christ Church, Gipsy Hill: a rich and generous Evangelical church doing much for

foreign missions and the poor at home. A strong Presbyterian church with three missions. A church nominally Baptist, but rather Congregational, with a composite body of adherents: full only for Sunday morning service: preaching the attraction. This district greatly affected by the Crystal Palace, which is used now more by a different class than formerly: a change in direction of greater popularity and different style of entertainment, but the general tone still satisfactory. pp. 123-129.

Addendum to Chapter IV. Notes on District comprised in Sketch Map No. 22. Outermost South London—Western Portion. General character. Social condition. Employments. Housing and rents. Markets. Public-houses. Amusement. Open spaces. Health. Changes of population. Means of locomotion. pp. 130-133.

Places of Worship.—List of parish churches situated in the Outermost South District (Western Portion), shown in Sketch Map No. 22, with other places of worship grouped in their ecclesiastical parishes. pp. 133, 134.

OUTLYING SOUTHERN SUBURBS: THE EASTERN PORTION. Vol. VI., chap. v., pp. 135-161.

Sec. i. Sydenham, Anerley and Penge.—Four parishes in Anerley and Penge. St. John's: almost every Evangelical religious institution represented: the attitude of the working class indifferent. Arpley Road: similar to the 'Dust-hole': a resting place for tramps entering London from the South and a refuge for low characters generally: missions in their midst. The Nonconformist churches strong here. The Congregationalists and the Wesleyans and their missions. The Baptists: a remarkable and stirring piece of work, the centre of many missions: the pastor thinks attendance at places of worship is on the increase, but all the churches united leave the bulk of the working class untouched. The Salvation Army: a strong, well-organized corps: in effect a church carrying on mission work. pp. 135-139.

Sketch map of district and statistics bearing on the area included therein. pp. 137, 138.

Sec. ii. Brockley and Forest Hill.—St. Augustine's, Honor Oak: all middle class: a full church, and help given outside. St. Saviour's: a considerable number of working-class people: usual agencies, but no great activity. The Nonconformists strong in these parishes, filling their churches and undertaking mission work elsewhere. The Presbyterians particularly active. The Wesleyans and others. St. Paul's, Forest Hill: a church too large for the whole population. Holy Trinity, Evangelical, concerns itself largely with foreign missions. Christ Church, Forest Hill: fairly full on Sunday morning, but seat-holders do not attend twice: a difficult working-class district. St. George's: High ritual: success due not to practices or doctrine, but to the personality of the vicar: the church 'always full.' In these parishes it is said that the Church is strong, the Nonconformists very weak: fashion with the newcomers sets towards the Church of England: but a number of Nonconformist churches here, perhaps too many. A well-organized Wesleyan circuit with five churches. A Baptist church with two missions: largely a working man's church, but seems to be more than usually successful: opinion expressed that missions fail to reach the godless and indifferent, and rather tend to become self-centred bands of workers. St. Philip's, High Church, with very complete organization. St. Bartholomew's, the parish church of Sydenham: moderate: no numerical or financial difficulties: the church as full as it will hold and congregation rich: socially as well as spiritually a great power: a centre of civic as well as religious life. St. Matthew's, meant as the mission church of St. Bartholomew's, attracts a good middle-class congregation. Religious indifference among the young men of the upper

class. The poor not numerous, and such as there are well cared for. A Congregational church: fairly filled: its mission hall. St. Michael and All Angels: two districts: Christ Church well-to-do: mission district at Bell Green, very poor: in it every religious agency tries what it can do, but without great effect. pp. 140-146.

Sec. iii. Lewisham.—Here more than anywhere else we find a new population overwhelming the old. St. Mary's: formation of mission districts and building of two new churches: churches well filled, and St. Mary's 'packed': congregations mainly from lower middle class: organizations very complete, and touch all sections. St. Stephen's: extremely High, and also very successful: special success claimed with men and rough lads. The Nonconformist churches do not very effectively compete: the Congregationalists the strongest: their old church in Lewisham High Street with two missions and three Sunday schools. St. Mark's: an inrush of population and a new organization: church fairly filled, and the work in early and hopeful stage. Nonconformist churches here. St. Swithun's, Hither Green: still largely open ground: church fairly attended. The new population here are clerks and artisans, mainly the former: large number of young married people. Afternoon house-breaking. The Wesleyans have built a handsome church to catch the incoming population. The Bible Christians speak of the district as a 'South London paradise.' St. Laurence's, Catford: High ritual and success: chief reliance on pulpit: an active and growing organization. This parish includes the poor quarter of Rushey Green: missions here. The overwhelming of old by new reflected in all our notes of this district. New public buildings in Ladywell Road, but the main street still gives impression of some old-fashioned provincial town: 'long and lazy Lewisham': but as a whole there is no residential part that charms. The new houses in St. Mary's intended for lower middle rather than working class: some of the new building likely to deteriorate fast. In St. Swithun's and St. Laurence huge building speculations on foot aimed at working as well as lower middle class: the building of a miniature town taking shape. Much open ground, and something has been done to protect the future: Hilly Fields and Ladywell recreation ground. pp. 146-151.

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Sec. v. Local Administration.—In Wandsworth, Lambeth, and Camberwell, which extend to the boundary of London, the problem of expanding London is not adequately grasped. Lewisham is entirely in the outer circle, and has a rapidly increasing population, but still only about eighteen to the acre: local administration has a reputation for efficiency. Health good: not yet much overcrowding. pp. 155, 156.

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VOLUME VII

(*Third Series: Religious Influences*)

SUMMARY OF RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Chap. i., pp. 3-54.

Sec. i. The Parish System.—The organization of the Church of England is bound up with the parish system. Everyone is supposed to know to what parish he belongs. If the ancient parishes did not exist, districts of some kind would have to be created: this is done now by Roman Catholics and tried by arrangement among the Free Churches. The best size for a parish? A small parish is more conducive to efficiency, but the policy of splitting the old large parishes tends to weaken the parochial tie, which is never so strong with smaller newly formed areas. In all working-class districts and among the poor the vast majority attend no place of worship: but even where there is a church-going class, parish boundaries are little regarded: most simply seek the kind of service which suits them wherever it may be found within range. These facts render impracticable the position of those who struggle against the breakdown of parish boundaries. The claims made for the Church depend on the character of the man and his party in the Church: some assume exclusive privileges, but the unwillingness to recognise other branches of the Christian Church is a relic of mediævalism. The position of the parish priest, however, even in London, is still one of considerable power: it gives the right of approach and appeal. Enumeration of the great variety of local characteristics in London parishes which affect the work of the Church. pp. 3-6.

Sec. ii. Parish Institutions.—Five distinct types of parish churches —High, Low, Broad, essentially Individual and essentially Parochial: in practice these shade off into one another. The essentially Parochial, the best representative of our National Church; they include many shades, from rather High to rather Low, and are thus broadly comprehensive. The essentially Individual include some remarkable pieces of work, but generally do the ordinary things in the ordinary way; they are without inspiration. The Broad churches hardly more successful: their position perhaps a false one. pp. 7, 8.

Every church on Sunday has two main services, morning and evening: except at these congregations are usually very small. The communicants' roll is a numerical measure of religious influence, and in all branches of the Church Easter Communion is accounted a proof of church membership. Emptiness, except for the two Sunday services, applies to all branches of the Church, the only material exception being men's afternoon services or children's services, or possibly a sacred musical performance. Besides the main services there are a number of minor services, at which the regular attendants are the church workers and a few special adherents. Almost every church has certain organizations, such as mothers' meetings, clubs, thrift or temperance societies, lads' brigades, Bands of Hope, &c., which have much in common in every parish, and even with the similar

organizations of Nonconformist churches and Undenominational missions. pp. 8-10.

The different types of churches mentioned are reflected in the action they take and the results they achieve. Their efforts with the children: day schools: the High Church recognise their importance most keenly, and make the most systematic and effective use of their opportunities, and great hopes are founded on these opportunities for another generation. The Sunday school in the High Church strengthens what the day school begins, and where there is no day school is of still greater importance: the children are brought to the Mass in church and instructed on the Dupanloup system: the work goes satisfactorily in early childhood, but to maintain the hold something further is needed; and by the thoroughgoing it is recognised that only the confessional will serve. The ordinary class Sunday-school system is found in almost all other churches, including Nonconformist: it is full of natural imperfections: its great weakness is the incapacity of teachers in dogma and discipline: its strength lies in the simple relations between teachers and children and its beneficial reaction on the lives of the teachers. This system, followed up by Bible-classes, falls in well with Evangelical tenets. Both High and Low seek also to keep the young people together by clubs, guilds, Bands of Hope, gymnastics, drill, &c.: but both are often disheartened by failure: the world claims the bulk of the children. Branches of the Church other than High and Low demand less and are less disappointed: they attach less importance to dogma: religion is to them the highest form of culture, but they do not set the world in antithesis to the Church or the Elect. Distinctive characteristics are more marked with the more definitely religious organizations, as the High Church with their guilds and confraternities, and the Evangelicals with their Bible-classes: but among the Evangelicals there seems to be a want of organized church work: with them foreign missionary work assumes a more important place. Whatever the Sunday-school system, the children come readily to school, and such benefits as are offered to induce them cannot seriously be called bribery or accounted demoralizing. pp. 10-14.

Band of Hope is easily successful, and is universally adopted: temperance propaganda the main object, but there is sometimes added reference to religious duties and kindness to animals: beyond their direct efforts to check intemperance and cruelty, their chief value lies in companionship and wholesome pleasure: quarrelling, deceitfulness, and impurity, the special vices of childhood, best treated by well-ordered games. pp. 14, 15.

When school age is past, all denominations alike find their difficulty: great efforts are made to retain some hold on the children, but nowhere are they particularly successful. Guilds and confirmation classes rarely go beyond the selection of a few children, and of those who join them, few remain members for any length of time. Most prefer to run loose, and may be more easily picked up when 'club age' is reached, when they will very likely join clubs not connected with their own church or school. Church Lads' Brigade the most successful of all such institutions, but it is more military than religious. But both in clubs and brigades, the boys in return for various enjoyments, are willing to pay attention to such religious forms as are demanded: whatever the value of such religious forms, the value of well-managed clubs and brigades in the formation of character can hardly be overestimated. As boys grow older difficulties arise, and a break is usually made: it is enough if a good foundation has been laid: the use of liberty will depend largely on their early religious or semi-religious influences. These institutions have little effect on church attendance: this is so completely recognised that the tendency, in Inner London especially, is to confine them to church members, when they

eventuate in the consolidation of an inner band of workers who become the mainstay of each church organization. Girls' clubs succeed wherever they are fairly tried: girls are more amenable and more easily occupied than boys, and more responsive to religion: but they too, especially when of the 'factory' class, are apt to break loose. pp. 15-17.

Mothers' meetings are solely a Protestant institution: they exhibit little variety except in size: the primary idea is always to give to tired and worried women a peaceful hour, enlivened by conversation or reading aloud: the institution is popular, and fits in well with general religious and charitable work in the parish: the meetings may be conducted so as to foster hypocrisy, but this is not necessary, and if carefully and honestly conducted they are good and useful, although as a definite religious influence not of much account: but even from a religious point of view they fill a real want: poor women can with difficulty be spared from home on Sunday, and nearly all of them have a strong though indefinite sense of religion, which the mothers' meeting does something to satisfy. The women who come to Established Church meetings fairly represent the poor: those of artisan class hardly ever attend, and the very poor generally go to meetings connected with missions. pp. 17-19.

As a rule the only counterpoise to the mothers' meeting is the men's club: these of two kinds: those confined to communicants or regular church attendants, and those open to all parishioners: the first, never large, often attain their object of binding together those who belong to the church: the open clubs always fail in their aim of bringing men under the influence of the church. But if the club is accepted simply as a social institution, it may succeed and be useful. pp. 19-20.

Adult temperance societies almost all connected with some church: but not specially connected with religion: all employ the same methods, and all equally fail. pp. 20, 21.

Thrift agencies are common to most churches: they are important here mainly from their connection with other parish work, especially visiting. As regards slate clubs and loan societies it is a great thing to dissociate their management from the atmosphere of the public-house. In collecting banks the churches break new ground: by placing visitation on a business footing they react on the whole system, and make class superiority in the visitor no longer necessary: all in all, no social development is more promising than this form of organized collection of savings. pp. 21, 22.

Sec. iii. Persons employed and methods of work.—The persons employed in parish work, professional and amateur, enumerated. pp. 22, 23.

Ideals and personal characteristics: the High Church ideal is celibacy for the clergy, though not put forward as an absolute duty: it effects a real concentration of energy, and carries with it a great moral force: the saintly, self-sacrificing life strikes the imagination of the poor: the churches are manned with the pick of the young clergy: sisterhoods spring up, and the purses of the rich are opened. Apart from High Church many think that a single life is essential for effective work, and others live only in the companionship of their people. The ideal of the vicarage as a 'home' with its helpful household. The ideal of the large mother parish organization, presided over by rector or vicar, whose wife and home and family are merged in the work, but under whom there is a great band of workers, paid and voluntary. Apart from ideals, personal qualities go far in determining the character of the work: enumeration of some of the types we have met among incumbents; no doubt among curates there is a corresponding variety. pp. 23-27.

Instances in which the fixed tenure of incumbencies works ill and even scandalously: some better system of compulsory retirement called for:

but more frequent are the cases of men sticking to their work with extraordinary devotion. pp. 27, 28.

The conception of the duties of the clergy changed and widened in the last century: could not possibly succeed in performing the varied functions now expected of them, and the attempt to do so tends to unfit them for their proper calling. pp. 28, 29.

The Scripture reader: possibly an anachronism, but still holds a useful place in bridging the gulf of class. City missionaries: their position anomalous as parish workers: their real sympathies more often with Nonconformists: if not co-workers are apt to be regarded as intruders, even by Evangelicals. Church Army officers loyal to the Church. pp. 29, 30.

Parish visiting: different kinds of parochial visits: by the vicar, by the assistant clergy, by district visitors. The claim that every home and family are visited never means much, but all should know that the Church is not only a neighbour but a friend. Visitation of those already known as frequenters of church or schools, &c., and visits to break new ground. pp. 30-33.

Sec. iv. Opinions expressed by the clergy regarding their work.—Opinions often biassed by personal factors: a special gift may influence opinion in favour of it: or the lack of a gift may lead to an exaggeration of its importance. We might select from our evidence opinions to support any view: those chosen indicate the variety and the balance of opinion on the whole, show how the clergy regard their work and how it reacts on them. pp. 34, 35.

Opinions as to the attitude of the people towards the Church. The influence of the pulpit. Opinions converge as to the fact that the mass of the people are untouched religiously and that their religious ideas are undeveloped. Further extracts from our evidence, mainly as to visiting. pp. 35-38.

Frank and outspoken opinions by the clergy on themselves and on each other: extracts from our evidence: denunciations of love of advertisement, pauperization, social activities: the value of a previous business training: the 'stars' *versus* the plodding workers: the importance of small beginnings: the enormous vigour of the Church and the need for constant fresh blood. pp. 38-42.

Sec. v. Church and class.—The value to the Church of the parish system would be greater if a broader and more sympathetic spirit prevailed, but the fact that everyone belongs to some parish goes for something in maintaining a recognition of religion: this common recognition breaks up over details, and the question of class complicates that of religious system: five social classes and five varieties of Church method result in a formidable array of combinations. The five social classes are wealth, upper middle class, lower middle class, regular wage earners, and the poor: a certain number of parishes are uniform in class, but this is rare: generally two or three classes live side by side: their combinations greatly affect the work of the Church. With the rich the work is easy up to a certain point: the services are well attended, money is liberally given: but even here as a pervading spiritual force the Church fails: except as regards chosen spirits the Church does not get beyond recognition as a representative of religion: choice of church and attendance mainly dictated by fashion: eloquence attracts crowds, but few are held. The simplest combination is that of rich and poor in one parish, but the position is not so simple as it at first seems: the poor do not come to church or mission hall, charitable gifts lead to cadging and spiritual counsel to hypocrisy: the simple ideal of a 'nice lot of poor' on whom to exercise the Christian virtues has to be

abandoned and a new principle found, but only by the greatest care can the living together of rich and poor in one parish be to the advantage of either: success depends on combination of sound sense, philanthropic enthusiasm and deep religious feeling rather than on particular religious beliefs: this is rare and in the work of these mixed parishes failure is more usual than success. Parishes in which the poor outnumber the rest: the High Church most successful here, though the churches are largely filled by people from other districts: a similar success may be won by the solitary self-denying man living for his people. The work of all others in almost wholly poor parishes fails. In regular wage-earning parishes all branches of Church fail alike: wherever found this class is equally impervious to the claims of religion as set before them. Middle-class districts not unsatisfactory for Church except in comparison with Nonconformists. The Church seen to greatest advantage with a mixed population of several classes. Great eloquence, exceptional energy, or beautiful music will everywhere bring a congregation, but then the church often ceases to be a parish centre. pp. 43-48.

Sec. vi. Church and doctrine.—The variety of doctrines taught undermines the importance attached to them, but the force of the influence doctrines exert depends on intensity of belief. High Church clergy say their successes spring largely from definite teaching, which appeals even more to men and boys than to women and girls. Their doctrinal position and its corollaries. The position of a priest with its high duties and powers exercises a great attraction on the keenest spirits, and the effect of doctrines and practices on clergy is almost entirely good: we find a true spirit of religion, recognised by the people, even by those who do not share the opinions, and some are always found who do respond, more women than men, but the men most deeply affected: nowhere such religious intensity as in the High Churches, and good congregations drawn compared to other churches, though to this other than doctrinal causes contribute. The type of men attracted not a strong one: the influence exercised on male sex very limited, that on women more diffused: with children reaches greatest nominal success, on which great hopes for the future are built. pp. 49-52.

The Evangelicals fallen on difficult times: their churches stranded: exceptions due to eloquence of some striking personality. Their doctrinal position resulted in a blindly self-satisfied piety, narrow and out of touch with life: disregarded at home, their energy goes out to foreign missions, and the more active spirits take part in the missions of revivalist effort. Their failure has had stimulating effect in many directions: instances. Evangelical development in the direction of greater brightness. pp. 52, 53.

Broad Church offers thought rather than doctrine: attracts neither the ardent few nor the careless many. pp. 53, 54.

In purely individual churches the influence exerted depends on character of incumbent: the most successful are the most parochial. p. 54.

ILLUSTRATIONS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

(*Being selections from reports and other printed documents.*)

Vol. VII., chap. ii., pp. 55-111.

These do not present a complete picture or balanced statement: they represent many points of view and divergent principles of action, and have been selected mainly as developing powerfully or characteristically a particular position: thus they tend to extremes. Principle on which the selection is made. The average type perhaps inadequately represented, and also the best kind of ordinary work, which is being done in all parts of London. pp. 55, 56.

Sec. i. Parish organization and methods of work.—(1) An account of the ordinary machinery at work in a rather poor parish, actively conducted on High but not extreme lines. Parish magazines. (2) List of the subsidiary institutions of an ordinary parish. (3) Particulars of services in a High Church parish of working class and poor people. (4) Specimens of the rules of (*a*) Guilds and Communicants' Unions: (*b*) High Church Guild: (*c*) Mothers' Union. (5) Sunday-school system: the 'Catechism': the ordinary Sunday school. (6) Value of the Confessional. (7) The Obligations of Communicants. (8) Reaching the men. (9) Remarks concerning special missions: (*a*) Notice of a mission in a large middle and working-class parish. (*b*) A mission (in a poor parish). (*c*) Interval necessary. (10) A vicar's annual letter to his people. (11) Duties of the Church Council. (12) Concerning buildings. (13) Sermons on social subjects: a list arranged by the Christian Social Union. (14) Intercession: (*a*) Band of Church Watchers and Intercessors; (*b*) Special intercession for those engaged in the war; (*c*) Special intercessions; (*d*) Daily intercession in the morning chapel. (15) Extracts which refer mostly to definite parish doings: (*a*) Embroideries and vestments; (*b*) Meanings of coloured vestments; (*c*) Palm Sunday; (*d*) Christmas entertainments; (*e*) and (*f*) Entertainments; (*g*) Jumble sales; (*h*) Annual excursions; (*i*) Annual school treat; (*j*) A window gardening society; (*k*), (*l*), and (*m*) Charities; (*n*) Accounts of a soup kitchen. pp. 55-76.

Sec. ii. Conflicting claims.—In view of the great variety of parochial undertakings open to clergy there is often difficulty in deciding what to do or attempt. This illustrated by nine extracts from Church reports. pp. 77-81.

Sec. iii. Appeals for help in money or in kind.—Nine extracts drawn for the most part from the reports of parishes that may be classed as poor. pp. 82-84.

Sec. iv. Appeals for response, for more devout or prayerful lives.—Eleven extracts from reports, magazines, and letters. pp. 85-88.

Sec. v. College missions.—Four extracts from reports. pp. 89-96.

Sec. vi. Extracts reflecting disappointment and discouragement.—Five extracts from magazines and reports. pp. 96, 97.

Sec. vii. Extracts reflecting confidence and thankfulness.—Eleven extracts from reports and letters. pp. 98-101.

Sec. viii. Various opinions and reflections.—Thirty-three extracts from reports, magazines, letters, &c. pp. 102-111.

THE NONCONFORMIST PROTESTANT CHURCHES. Vol. VII., chap. iii., pp. 112-154.

Sec. i. The Congregationalists.—The Congregationalist Church is more than any other the church of the middle classes. Where they are found Congregationalists are in full force: where not, the churches lead a struggling existence. But the church invaluable among its own people. Their methods are very social, and depend on a certain degree of culture, and the absence of any wide class differences in the members. With them the social side of religious activity attains its highest development, and also they provide the greatest scope for the power of the pulpit. But preaching attracts and binds mainly by its spiritual force: politics not popular. The form of buildings used, the character of services, and the whole organization of the work tend to emphasize leadership of pastor: octagonal buildings typical: the whole service intensely personal: instances of this. Qualification for membership varies with different churches as to

doctrinal assertion: instances: but whatever the degree of orthodoxy the declaration generally includes in substance, if not in words, 'the profession of a share in the spirit and purpose of Christ and such evidence of the same as is afforded by a willingness to take part in Christian work.' pp. 112-116.

The pastor *ex-officio* at the head of everything, but he is a constitutional sovereign: has no responsibility for administration or finance: contrast in this respect with the Church of England. Main business of pastor is to inspire rather than guide congregational activities: and the system leaves him free to lead. In addition to finance and administration, questions of church discipline rest mainly with the deacons. Thus the pastor becomes the Queen Bee of the hive. pp. 116-118.

In addition to what is done among themselves the activities always include large Sunday schools for the working class, and generally separate missions for work among the poor. p. 118.

Theirs is a very efficient religious system, but its chief fault is that it is apt to engender a spirit of self-satisfaction. Lack of intensity of religious feeling is a natural accompaniment of its diffusion and social success: the 'heroic little band of earnest souls' who bring solace amid general failure not found here. General tendency towards unorthodox doctrine: numbers who make no profession of faith but attach themselves to religious organizations as fellow workers: but in some churches the teaching is still uncompromising: little uniformity, every shade represented up to Unitarianism. Where there is a change of views it is usually in the pastor rather than the people, who sometimes carries his congregation with him, but more often drops doctrinal subjects. If opinions of congregation outrun those of pastor it is generally due to unorthodox newcomers. On the whole the influence of the Congregationalists is more social than religious, but it is good and wholesome. pp. 118-121.

Sec. ii. The Baptists.—The strong effort to maintain unity of doctrine an essential characteristic of the Baptist position: their teaching very definite and accompanied by an acute consciousness of differences when they occur. Many years ago amalgamation of the various bodies which had split off succeeded so far as to make the large united body generally known as Baptists: but many chapels of the old exclusive sections are still to be found in all parts of London. 'General Baptists,' practically Unitarian, have only one congregation, but several of 'Old Baptist Union' and of 'Particular' and 'Strict' Baptists: their tenets. pp. 121, 122.

The 'Open' Baptists form the main body: their tenets. Their 'Tabernacles' are placed in leading thoroughfares within easy access, especially of lower middle and upper working class, from whom, with strictly middle class, their congregations are drawn. On the whole they touch a lower social grade than the Congregationalists. The East London Tabernacle and the Shoreditch Tabernacle accommodate the largest popular congregations in London: in them the working class prevails, and in a less marked degree in all Baptist churches, north of the Thames, except Dr. Clifford's. In South London, however, the weakness of Congregationalists gives the Baptists more middle or lower middle-class congregations, and they here generally touch the poor only through missions: but in South London, as elsewhere, they reach the lowest class of independent-minded church-goers. pp. 122-124.

Their views somewhat austere: Hell plays as great a part as Heaven: pleasure distrusted: such convictions more in accordance with male than female character, and Baptists eminently virile: they also favour neglect of class differences: and if the lines of class remain it is because the life circumstances of the middle and lower middle class favour stern opinions.

But their faith brings with it the concurrent evil of a too obtrusive piety, and lends itself to hypocrisy. p. 124.

The order of the services: practically the same as with the Congregationalists: their use of music, not universal yet. A Baptist more than a Congregationalist is a strongly constituted church, and does not depend so much on pastoral inspiration: but the sermon retains its full importance: pains taken to secure the right man: long periods elapse before vacancy is filled: failing 'supply' from without, a Baptist congregation will conduct its own services. Members of the congregation at all times take larger part in the services than among Congregationalists. Pastors of great churches freed from financial cares, and need not give much time to church organizations: but their preaching duties heavier than those of Congregationalists: they have more week-day meetings of a religious character. Their Tabernacles great centres of religious ministration, but outside work decentralized as much as possible. pp. 125-127.

The differences in the ideals and practices of Baptists as compared with Congregationalists, brought out more distinctly with smaller 'Open' churches, and still more with Exclusive churches. These little congregations hold together with great self-devotion: their pastors seldom have stated salary, and often follow other occupation. Each Bethel, Ebenezer, or Zion has its small circle of supporters, to whom their religion is very real indeed. Such intensities of conviction result in strength, and individually or collectively, the Baptist churches are a great spiritual force in London, and their religious influence very deep. pp. 127, 128.

Sec. iii. Wesleyan Methodists.—The Wesleyan body marked by two very striking features of administration: the three years' system for the ministers, and the plan of circuits for the churches. The three years' system intended to give freshness and vigour to the ministry: also makes wishes of congregation of less importance in selection of minister, a feature strengthened by device of circuits as unit of ministration. A circuit is commonly three churches served by probably two ministers, assisted by local preachers. It is an elastic system, but does not, and is not intended, to conduce to deep roots. Ill-suited to a great city, but connection it provides between town and country is important, and Wesleyan body is at bottom a country organization, suited to small village groups of people: the system there springs from the congregations, but in great cities the order must be reversed: each church must gather its congregation: for this persistent effort is necessary, and three years too short for the task: this recognised as regards mission work and the system relaxed. pp. 129-131.

Wesleyans nearer to Church of England than other Nonconformists: some churches use liturgy, differing little from that of Prayer Book: they adopt a similar style of building: but these facts only apply to upper circles of Wesleyanism. Congregations drawn from same class as Baptists and Congregationalists, but more enthusiastic and emotional temperament appealed to, taking more joyous view of life: much use made of music. They have suffered more than others from chapels stranded by removal of their supporters: this owing largely to circuit and three years' system, but from same causes they profit in new districts: new chapels filled, old fall empty: the shock of discovering that their Gospel had not appealed to the poor led to setting aside of three years' rule, and the great mission enterprise which has spread all over London. In addition to this, poor churches are often linked with rich or separate mission centres established: the work ardently taken up by young people, and professionalized by Sisters of the People: all leads to development of an inner band whose fervour is great. pp. 131-135.

The extent of Wesleyan influence difficult to estimate owing to its variety: its great growth in thirty years: its energetic policy in missions

and building: liberal gifts and expenditure of money, but in spite of energy, activity, enthusiasm, and zeal, something hollow, unsatisfactory, and unreal in its religious influence: a false atmosphere of exaggerated language: high key of reports: in self-deception the Wesleyans have no equals. But the scope of their work great, and perfection of organization unrivalled: fail a little at upper and lower end of social scale, but powerfully efficient with their whole range of middle-class supporters. pp. 135, 136.

Stringent system of inquiry as to moral conduct of members and ministers could not be borne without great exaltation of spirit, which has its bad and good side. A minister's account of his own career. Their mission work becoming sobered. The religious influence of Congregationalists, Baptists, and Wesleyans compared, but the sharp lines drawn require qualification: the sects merge into one another, and religious position determined by many other reasons besides conviction or character. pp. 136-138.

Sec. iv. Primitive and other Methodists.—Primitive Methodist chapels small but numerous: their members very earnest, and strongly attached. They work on circuit system and have many more chapels than ministers: in spite of local preachers the work, especially of visiting, is hard. How their churches are recruited. They reach a large number of children through their Sunday schools, whose parents are rarely members, but there is no social gulf to bridge: they, probably more than any other sect, touch the poor: but apart from Sunday schools their work practically confined to the satisfaction of the religious needs of small groups of born Methodists. But in some cases they, following the Wesleyans, have launched into mission work on a large scale, which has not yet found its level. pp. 139-141.

United Methodist Free Church lies midway between Primitive and Wesleyans: it is an honest, earnest body of lower middle-class people, with a number of churches. A few churches of the Methodist New Connexion and the Bible Christians: the latter are for the most part countrymen. Several Welsh Methodist churches: carry on very active work among their own people. pp. 141, 142.

Sec. v. Presbyterians, Unitarians, Society of Friends, and others.—Presbyterians consist of Presbyterian Church of England and Scotch Presbyterians, or Church of Scotland: their congregations intelligent in a high degree, and their ministers men of culture and great attainments. Their churches, handsome stone structures, usually named after some saint, are not regarded as local institutions: congregations come from far and wide: apart from Scotch in London they attract Anglicans dissatisfied with Ritualism, and thoughtful people of all sects: large proportion of men: high standard of preaching: thorough theological and philosophical training of ministers. Beyond religious work little is attempted. Such mission work as they do is very like that of others in success or failure. pp. 143-145.

Unitarians invaluable as leaders in social work: pioneers with their 'Domestic Missions.' As a religious body small in number and dwindling: but their doctrines working afresh elsewhere. pp. 145, 146.

Society of Friends also decreasing: but they have moved with the times. Their great contribution to religious life is the 'adult school': they set a good example by not proselytizing. p. 146.

The 'Brethren,' Open and Close: they have, properly speaking, no leaders, but two or three come to the front: their numbers not large, but among themselves their influence undoubtedly strong. pp. 146, 147.

Catholic Apostolic Church: Swedenborgians: Positivists: Ethical Churches: Christian Scientists. pp. 147, 148.

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THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. Vol. VII., chap. v., pp. 241-268.

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Enumeration of the different races and classes touched. The Irish: with few exceptions attached and submissive Catholics: no religious buildings in London more fully used than their mission churches, which are built by subscription, though expenses are paid by congregation. Poverty and simple life of the priests: their power with their people to quell disorder: but no permanent improvement: drinking and fighting the ordinary conditions of life among many of their flock: generally no thought of propaganda, but never-ending struggle to prevent lapses into indifference and neglect of religious duties: this due to spirit of age, and specially noticeable at period between boyhood and manhood: clubs tried without much success. Mixed marriages objected to, but the Irish generally marry among themselves. But still many complaints of indifference and lapsing: said that one-third do, another third can't, and the remaining third won't attend Mass. pp. 242-246.

The poor Italians speak little English, and are abjectly poor, though thrifty: their principal colony is at Saffron Hill: they are more difficult to hold and reach than the Irish: comparison between the two. Large foreign population in Central London probably baptized into the faith, but not as a rule good Catholics: the priests seek no more than to hold their own or regain the lost. French and German Catholics: scattered character of Catholic population in most parts of London renders it difficult for priests to keep in touch. Hereditary middle-class Catholics generally adhere steadily to their religion: perhaps not keen Catholics, but have no desire to change. Some middle-class churches active in propaganda. Power of

the Church equally remarkable among all classes: all have a common spirit, all working with a common aim. pp. 246-250.

Sec. ii. Scope and Nature of the Influence.—Roman Catholics in London estimated at 200,000: as to two-thirds the priests have knowledge. London divided into about one hundred mission districts. Nearly one hundred convents. Lay organizations: Society of St. Vincent de Paul and about thirty other institutions dealing with the results of poverty, misfortune or vice. The greatest effort devoted to elementary schools. The Church may probably grow in strength even if no proportionate increase in numbers, but not likely to go far on new ground. The value of the religious influence exercised? The leading characteristic is strength of authority; the inevitable result, weakness of individuality: and whatever may be the case with other churches, there is no doubt that, measured by its influence on thought and education, social or political life, the balance with this Church is on the wrong side: as a nation the English not likely to become Catholic. pp. 250-253.

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MISSIONS. Vol. VII., chap. vi., pp. 269-296.

Sec. i. General Characteristics.—Different meanings given to the word 'Mission.' Here applied especially to specialized work among the poor. In the poorer parts a mission in almost every street. The London City Mission and its work. Sunday schools in Church of England often held in mission buildings. Large parishes, in addition to schools, often have several separate mission centres: but in mission work the parish system has no influence, and differences of creed are of little account. General shabbiness of missions in poor neighbourhoods. But the amount of work done is enormous. Of whatever sect, all cover very similar ground, and all acknowledge that the underlying desire of all their multifarious work is to lead men to God. Do they succeed? A certain degree of success is almost universal but absolutely limited: it consists in the finding and binding together of a few kindred spirits in the service of God: those who claim more are self-deceived: but many admit failure. The family as a unit rarely influenced. Numerical success only obtained by (1) 'continuous' missions, whose object is to deepen religious feeling and arouse enthusiasm among regular adherents, and to attract outsiders: reliance placed on great preachers: the bulk of those who attend are regular church-goers, and it is doubtful if they profit by atmosphere of high pressure: but the mass remain untouched: and (2) popular evangelistic preaching: this in great halls draws the roving religious population: frequent change of performance: but effect inappreciable. pp. 269-276.

Social work: Sunday-school work midway: to their schools come the children of the poor: the atmosphere is religious, but no religious training possible: physical wants transcend the spiritual. Discipline often very

imperfect, but the training in decency and gentleness and the relations between children and teachers valuable. Mothers' meetings as religious influences amount to very little, though as moral and social influences often wholesome and beneficial: prudence and thrift learnt rather than religion. Schools and meetings enable workers to get into the homes: this leads to an admixture of Gospel and giving which brings discredit on both charity and religion. pp. 276-278.

Sec. ii. Special Characteristics.—The active virtue of missions lies in enthusiasm, the corresponding fault is exaggeration: this is common to nearly all of whatever sect. The Ritualistic attitude: amazing unrealized and unrealizable hopes of bringing souls to God through the sacraments, and of repose being found in the authority of the Church: especially noticeable among Sisters: their work characterized by enthusiasm, devotion and extraordinary energy, but marred by unscrupulousness and unwarrantable pretensions: most good done by teaching of children, most harm by charity. Ordinary parish mission more wholesome: less pretension and enthusiasm, but little exaggeration: mainly simple duty-loving effort: the favourite delusion is that the people take an interest in the work: the idea that the poor are prepared to make sacrifices not shared by High Church or Nonconformists, but all expect some response and all exaggerate results. pp. 279-282.

Small unattached missions often stamped with the individuality of one man or woman: imparts an air of professionalism: an occupation, and in many cases a livelihood. Usually supported by people of wealth. The enthusiasm which underlies these little missions deeply religious, but for the most part they are buoyed up by self-deception: the workers simple, good-hearted people, but often unwise. The large undenominational missions owe their expansion to business-like management and mastery in the art of advertising: grand scale of their work secures a never-failing succession of men of capacity: they acquire traditions and become permanent institutions. pp. 282-284.

Certain methods more particularly associated with certain kinds of missionary enterprise: visitation with the Church of England: soup kitchens with the ordinary parish: free meals for poor children with the small independent missions: wholesale distribution of charity with the great begging and spending missions. Medical missions. The 'people's lawyer.' Work among crippled children: Ragged School Union and its Cripples' Parlours: the Wesleyans and their 'League of Poor Brave Things': the Invalid Children's Aid Association. The feeble-minded and physically defective children. Special efforts of the Wesleyans for rough children of the streets. The Society of Friends and their 'adult school.' Collection of savings and use of private libraries a feature of Unitarian missions. pp. 284-288.

Special missions to the heathen and to particular classes. p. 288.

The London City Mission: nearly five hundred missionaries, one-fourth for work among particular classes of men, the rest devoted to district visiting only: their sole duty to 'put in a word for Christ': rules forbid almsgiving, but to some extent evaded: the work not intended to develop into independent churches: expected to pass on a convert, but do not always do so; a missionary who has a hall tends to gather a regular body of supporters. Their position unique: father confessor and friend: more than all the rest in tune with the sentiment of the people. Their co-operation by no means generally welcomed even by Evangelical clergy, and by Ritualists regarded with hostility. pp. 289-290.

Sec. iii. Opinions Expressed.—Doubts as to the value of missions. View that they do not attract those for whom they are meant, and that

they rob the churches. Admitted that mission work becomes harder as methods become stale. Undesirable results of advertising and begging, and harm wrought by unwise charity. pp. 291-294.

Opinions as to the London City Mission, emphasizing the account given of its work. pp. 294-296.

ILLUSTRATIONS. (*Selections from Mission Reports.*) Vol. II., chap. vii., pp. 297-322.

The nature of mission reports. pp. 297, 298.

(1) * * * * * * Institution. (2) * * * * * * * Mission and Ragged Schools. (3) The * * * * * * Gospel Mission. To succour and to save. (4) * * * * * * Mission. (5) * * * * * * * Working Men's Mission. (6) Testimonies. (7) How we got the drum. (8) A pretentious report. (9) A fulsome report. (10) A modest report. (11) * * * * * * Artisans' Young Men's Christian Association. (12) An appeal. (13) Relief of distress. (14) Hunger. (15) Discrimination in charitable work. pp. 297-322.

OTHER RELIGIOUS EFFORT AND SOCIAL WORK CONNECTED WITH RELIGION. Vol. VII., chap. viii., pp. 323-376.

Sec. i. The Salvation Army.—The Salvation Army has three aspects: a Gospel mission, a religious community, and an organization for social work. It began as a Gospel mission in East London, recognising that the vast majority were untouched by religion, and that some new method of presentment was needed: *war* had to be waged against sin. Much to shock reverence in their proceedings, but the system deliberately adopted hit the mark: the Army was successful in bringing the Gospel of salvation freshly and simply to the notice of all, and especially to the notice of the classes standing aloof: but in any broad measure the movement has failed: progress in any particular place slow and fitful: the point soon reached at which all that can be done has been done: as regards London the failure palpable. Most of the corps lead a struggling existence; but the failure is not complete: like other missions the Army draws some sympathetic souls whom its ways suit, and there are some genuine converts, though many relapse. A few corps grow into regular congregations, consisting of the better sort of working-class people, including domestic servants. Remarkable for the number of its stations, for their religious character, multiplicity of services, and for pertinacity in face of discouragement. The apathy of the bystanders at open-air services not surprising: seldom have the words spoken life or power, they have become stereotyped: but out-door services act as advertisement and attract a few strangers to indoor services. A table of an ordinary week's fighting engagements of a captain in charge of a corps containing a hundred soldiers. pp. 323-331.

The Army, as a religious community, is more noteworthy: the latest born, its growth and consolidation have been marvellous: one of the most remarkable developments of the kind the world has ever seen. Quotations from *Servants of All* as to its aim and achievements. The programme is—Every soul won to become in turn a soldier in the Army, and wisdom and love to guide the work done for the multitudes outside its ranks, but these for the most part remain untouched: there are not many converts, most who join come from other religious bodies, and all told the numbers are not large: thus the main merit of the Army lies in the large number of people it has bound together by new ties, whose faith it has strengthened, and whom it has set to work for the social and religious welfare of the world. The doctrine preached is of the simplest Evangelical type, but is enriched with many admirable rules of conduct: quotation from

Servants of All. With some the Army has become a business, but this is rare, and the general elevation of purpose and singleness of aim are remarkable. As a whole the Army grows in vitality, as well as numbers. Centralized administration and discipline justified by results. One or two secessions, but the severed corps work on similar lines. pp. 331-338.

The social work of the Army: gradually taking a more prominent place: the object is to offer to the 'submerged' classes a chance of recovery through industry: the net is provided by the night shelters and cheap food depôts which gather a mass of almost hopeless material from which, however, a selection is passed on to headquarters of social wing or to the labour homes (elevators) or to the farm colony: the test of fitness is the willingness to work: permanent benefit claimed for a large proportion of those thus selected, but the word is too strong: the truth may be that under the influence of regular food and work moral and physical health are regained and the world re-entered on another plane. But no real attempt is made to follow cases up. For the bulk of those who frequent the shelters they are merely a convenience which confirm them in their manner of life: this cheap shelter and food a very doubtful benefit to the recipient, and cause of undeniable mischief to neighbourhood where offered and to London at large. But Salvation Army compares favourably with other missions in respect of misdirected charity: and in their appeals to the public they are careful in statement, as also in the administration of funds received. pp. 338-343.

The delusion that the world is athirst for the Gospel expressed in their formula: belief in their doctrines does not spread: but for earnest faith, strenuous work and real self-sacrifice the Salvation Army stands first. pp. 343, 344.

Sec. ii. The Church Army.—Its work concerns London only in a minor degree: is not a separate religious body, but merely a working association of members of the Church of England: but has followed lines of development somewhat similar to those of Salvation Army: the first aim is to bring religion to the poor by new methods of approach, but in this their hopes have been disappointed, and the bulk of the work now, especially in London, is social. The system less wholesale than that of Salvation Army: the cases dealt with in homes usually specially recommended, and then carefully sifted: individual care and influence aimed at: a percentage of success claimed similar to that of Salvation Army: word 'success' not used, but the more accurate expression 'obtained a fresh start in life.' Homes for women and lads as well as men: all small and worked with great care. In London seven labour homes and four lodging-houses for men and seven agencies for women. The Army manages also the 'Embankment Home.' The Army officers in effect a brotherhood. The Army income of £170,000 very honestly administered. pp. 345-348.

Sec. iii. Sisterhoods.—The growth of Sisterhoods in London very modern: now they are without number, and of all sects. A list of the principal Anglican Sisterhoods, and Deaconesses' Institutions. The general scope and aim of deaconesses' work: they are almost universally subordinate to the parish clergy. Sisterhoods are generally responsible for separate undertakings, but they, too, work under the clergy in many cases. Their charitable work most open to criticism: it is apt to be undermined by propagandist motives due to their strong religious convictions. pp. 349-353.

Roman Catholic Sisterhoods. pp. 353, 354.

Nonconformist Sisters. Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes' account of their work in the Wesleyan West London Mission. The wife of a London clergyman on women's work in the parish. pp. 354-359.

Sec. iv. Rescue work.—The success of rescue work practically confined to the newly fallen: regularly established cases or those who have taken to the life deliberately almost irreclaimable: results therefore extremely limited in scope, but of untold value. Much stress laid on the religious side of the work, but chance of success depends rather on appeal to human affection than religious susceptibilities. For the hardened, perhaps, nothing but religion will effect a change, but few make the trial of a new life: though something is done to humanize them. 'Maternity cases' must be treated separately. pp. 360-363.

Extracts from reports:—(1) Charing Cross Vigilance and Rescue Committee; (2) St. Catherine's Home; (3) The Church Mission to the Fallen; (4) Rescue Homes of the Salvation Army. pp. 363-369.

Sec. v. Work in Prisons and among discharged prisoners.—Extracts from reports:—(1) Prison Gate Work (St. Giles's Christian Mission); (2) Prison Gate Work (Salvation Army); (3) The Church Army's Prison Work; (4) The London Diocesan Police Court Mission; (5) The experiences of a Police Court Missionary. pp. 369-376.

SETTLEMENTS AND POLYTECHNICS. Vol. VII., chap. ix., pp. 377-393.

Sec. i. Settlements.—About a dozen settlements in London: a settlement may be described as a 'residential club with a purpose': in their main characteristics all are alike, their aims being grouped under the headings of education, recreation, charitable effort, and local government: and a further community of aim found in the universal underlying idea of neighbourliness: religious motive, too, always present. The mixed complexity and uniformity of aim as conspicuous here as with purely religious work: churches, chapels, missions, settlements and polytechnics tend to become almost universal in their scope: the process of their expansion traced and explained. The four great settlements of London. pp. 377-380.

The basis of settlements is the willingness of men or women to accept life in districts selected because they offer a special field for social work: districts chosen in which the standard of life is low: success measured by the extent to which those who adopt this life can be at ease with the people, with each other, and with themselves. Settlements still experimental: but they have so far made for social solidarity. Their future stability depends on the amount of personal service they can secure of the right kind. pp. 380-382.

Extracts indicating the objects settlements set before themselves: (1) Toynbee Hall. (2) Oxford House. (3) and (4) Bermondsey Settlement. (5) Browning Hall. pp. 382, 383.

Sec. ii. Polytechnics.—List of polytechnics in London. They touch all sides of life though in very varying degrees. The Regent Street Polytechnic stands in the first place: it sounds the note of a personal ideal which is rather lacking in some of the newer Polytechnics: any marked success is always due to the personal element exemplified in Mr. Quintin Hogg. The necessity for something much more than mere education fully recognised at Regent Street, most stress indeed being laid on the social side. The People's Palace: a record of experiments and not a few failures: now the East London Technical Institute, with students drawn from a wide area: practically no social side. Battersea Polytechnic and Northampton Institute. Borough Polytechnic has a distinctive feature in the affiliation of other institutes. The Goldsmiths' Institute. Limit of age for social work generally sixteen to twenty-five: none for classes: the members generally of lower middle or more intelligent of the wage-earning

classes. Membership of polytechnics estimated at from forty thousand to fifty thousand. pp. 383-390.

Extract from Mr. Quintin Hogg's account of how the Regent Street Polytechnic was founded. pp. 390-393.

ASPECTS OF RELIGION. Vol. VII., chap. x., pp. 394-413.

Sec. i. Religion and Class.—Each class probably contains an equal number of the few whose souls are really filled with the faith they profess, or of those whose nature is open to good influences, but as regards certain religious developments class conditions seem paramount. Those of rank and station, with few exceptions, belong to the Church of England, and are usually warm and attached members: the part played by religion in their lives, though not large, is constant. The next social class great civil servants, officers of Army and Navy, and barristers, also generally belong to Church of England, and with them religious observance is usual, but their attitude towards religion is less calm than that of the highest class. Newcomers to this class have usually joined the Church of England if formerly Nonconformists, but there are signs that this tendency is changing. With the next social layer, legal and other professional men, some civil servants, men of business, wholesale traders and large retailers, the Nonconformist bodies take the lead: and among themselves class position goes very much by congregations: to these people their religion is generally a daily reality. Those of this class who belong to Church of England make less display of their religion than Nonconformists. A little lower in the social scale are the new middle class, a heterogeneous group: they form the bulk of most large religious assemblages, but it is impossible to estimate accurately the proportion that may be regarded as religious: they fill many of the Nonconformist churches and the great preaching mission services, while many attend the Church of England. pp. 394-399.

No class lines in England strictly maintained: but the line of division between lower middle and upper working class is specially uncertain, and tends to become more so: reasons for this. The fact that many of the upper working class have become practically indistinguishable from the lower middle class has opened a road between the religious bodies, who influence the middle class, and the working classes. But the bulk of the wage-earning classes still remain untouched. pp. 399-401.

Sec. ii. Religion and the Young.—Systematic doctrinal training fairly thorough with the children of the rich until confirmation: but generally no effort is made to stimulate religious emotion. In spite of efforts of the clergy, the regular religious training usually ends with confirmation: guilds, &c., touch young women very slightly, and young men scarcely at all. Among young men absolute free thought very common. Parents abstain from interference but limit discussion on heterodox lines in the home. Among the rich there is a republic of religious thought among the young: this is not so among Nonconformists of any class: with them home and church are more completely combined: the young are much more tightly held than are Church of England young people of a similar class. With the classes below, the Church of England leads, mainly through more systematic teaching in Church Sunday schools, and the fact that the Church controls most of the voluntary elementary schools. But even if elaborate doctrinal teaching is inculcated in childhood with these classes, it is not likely to last: atmosphere of the home and social usage are against it. A possible change can only come gradually as the result of economic progress, general education, and a rising standard of life. For the very poor the work of the churches is largely based on charitable assistance, and the aim as regards the

training of children is mainly to inculcate order, discipline, cleanliness, decency, and general good behaviour. pp. 402-405.

Sec. iii. Religion and Charity.—As in the past, people still find a salve for conscience in charity, and the churches still seek to organize charity in the name of God: but two comparatively new ideas are generally admitted:—(1) that poverty is aggravated by ill-considered attempts to relieve it; and (2), the cause of religion suffers from association with relief in the eyes of those who are outside of its influence. That these ideas have so little influence on administration is due to practical difficulties which seem insuperable: the religious bodies cannot suffer the poor to be uncared for, or stand aside entirely while others do the work. Quotations from our evidence which show the difficulty of the task and the necessity of modifying in practice too strict rules of administration. The witnesses' views of the Charity Organization Society, and the Society's views of the clergy and their methods. Three classes who claim help may be recognised: Poor Law cases, clergy cases, and Charity Organization Society cases: the great aim of the Society is to reduce these classes to two. Not a cheap plan: as church charities show, it is much more expensive to assist a few adequately than many inadequately. A Poor Law medical officer on the spasmodic and inadequate character of voluntary charity. A difficulty in squaring the teaching of the Bible with the practical rules of action now laid down by all serious thinkers. pp. 406-413.

THE POSITION OF RELIGION IN LONDON. Vol. VII., chap. xi., pp. 414-432.

Sec. i. The attitude of the religious bodies to the people.—The reference is limited almost entirely to the clergy and ministers, and those who actually share their work: these are few in number, but their work is enormous and their influence very great. Outside this inner religious circle is the larger body of adherents, with less intensity of conviction or zeal, and from them mainly the inner body is recruited. The success obtained with them strengthens the optimistic delusion which regards all men as open to any particular Gospel, and thus the attitude of the religious bodies to the people is largely based on misconception. Instances of this from our evidence. But though there is optimism as to possibilities, there is often despair as to results: and in the main the attitude of the churches to the people is one of surprise at the rejection of their teachings. Much of the failure is due to the fact that religious propaganda and denominational appeals are tainted by competition, by exaggeration, by bribery, and in other ways, and to the consciousness of disunion among religious bodies. The attitude of the religious bodies to the people helps to create the attitude of the people towards them: on both sides there is a lack of respect, and the terms of approach are wrong. pp. 414-418.

Sec. ii. The attitude of the religious bodies to each other.—Evidence from our note-books as to the uncomfortable relations and bitterness of feeling which so often exist between the Church of England and Nonconformists: this though stronger with the High Church extends also to the Low. Very little co-operation of any kind. Among Nonconformist churches there is not much effective co-operation, but little ill-feeling, though even with them independent missions are sometimes complained of. We are told that divisions between Nonconformist denominations are breaking down. Some Nonconformists will not recognise unauthorized preaching, but the main trouble lies between Church of England and those who cannot submit to her authority and

pretensions: with her lies the opportunity to rise above sectional ideas and assume the leadership. pp. 418-421.

Sec. iii. The attitude of the people to religion.—The inhabitants of London would all (except the Jews) repudiate the imputation of belonging to any religion except Christianity, are acquainted in a general way with its various doctrines, and do not, as a rule, question their truth: this amounts to mere acquiescence. But according to the point of view which accepts all moral life as religious, there is much religion in London: while the national reserve may hide much true religion. The general conclusion, however, is that the great masses of the people remain apart from all forms of religious communion. The effects of age, sex, and class on this aloofness: children, influenced not by doctrine or ritual, but by the measure of kindly welcome and the rewards, are easily won but held with difficulty: girls more amenable than boys. The palpable distinctions are those of means: the colours of our map give the key to at least numerical success. Less hostility among the working classes than in the past: secularist propaganda not powerful: the success of religious people at elections for local government noteworthy. The churches, too, have become more broad in their sympathies and the scope of their work: but have only met with disappointing response: the working man though more friendly, is no more religious. If not becoming more religious, is he becoming more political, more social, more intellectual, or more material? No conclusive answer possible: these interests fill a greater place in his life than in the past, but he is even more engrossed by pleasure, amusement, hospitality, and sport: most of the increasing free time goes in these directions, religion hardly gains: Sunday increasingly a day of recreation. But apart from Sunday question these interests not absolutely incompatible with religious connexions: conflict arises from the character they have acquired, which might be modified by religion. pp. 422-426.

Special obstacles which, in the case of the working classes, prevent church-going: churches regarded as resorts of well-to-do: incompatibility of moral temper: humility, and consciousness of sin, and attitude of worship not natural to working man: Christianity does not give sufficient prominence to material hopes and ambitions: reasoned unbelief takes a very small place: professional character of clergy weakens their influence, except among Roman Catholics: habit of detachment, bringing a feeling of discomfort in unaccustomed surroundings: and finally London environment against conventional church-going. pp. 426-429.

Sec. iv. The attitude of the individual soul. — Conclusion arrived at that except as swayed by race and sex, and to some extent by age, religion depends on inborn characteristics of the individual soul. The normal condition is one of diffused religion, and with this we have to reckon in London. pp. 429-432.

FINAL VOLUME

NOTES ON SOCIAL INFLUENCES AND CONCLUSION

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Table showing comparative rates of natural increase of population, and comment thereon. Rate of natural increase very much smaller amongst upper classes than amongst central and poorer classes. pp. 24-26.

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the advantages of official inquiry and of inquiry by voluntary associations or individuals. The more public the character of the inquiry the more impersonal should be the information aimed at, and the more general should be the immediate arrangement of the facts. pp. 32-38.

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PART II. HABITS OF THE PEOPLE. pp. 41-96.

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Holiday making: its enormous increase in ten years: the effect on public-houses, they are much more used by women. Excursions in brakes without end. Bank Holidays badly spoken of: common view that they are a curse. Their establishment probably a step in the wrong direction: better that each trade should arrange its own holidays. The Saturday half holiday stands on another footing: enables the wife to do her marketing in good time and still have leisure for Saturday evening enjoyment. pp. 50-52.

Demand for amusement equally noticeable: taste more critical, and efforts of religious bodies in this direction inadequate. Development and improvement in standard: increase in number and size of local music halls, followed by new theatres: soon no district will be without one: their influence is, on the whole, not evil: they at least take the place of something worse, but the performances at music halls are still at rather a low moral and artistic level. In Central London the artistic level is higher: but possibly there is here encouragement of vice. In the minor halls the development is never in the direction of music, but in Central London this is not neglected. The taste for good music undoubted: evidence on this point: this may with safety be supplied collectively. Sunday music the bone of contention: said to take away from public-houses, but also to empty the churches. pp. 52-56.

Sec. iii. Betting.—Evidence as to the difficulty of suppressing betting. Where betting is carried on: tobacconists, newsmen, barbers, and by street bookmakers. £5 fine not heavy enough to deter. In spite of attempted interference, the habit on the increase: evidence as to this. Gambling clubs equally irrepressible: if raided and closed they open again. Account of a visit to a gambling and dancing club. pp. 56-59.

Sec. iv. Drink.—Consensus of opinion that there is more drinking but less drunkenness than formerly, and that the increase in drinking is mainly to be laid to the account of the female sex: this latter fact an unexpected result of the emancipation of women: evidence on these points. Quotations from our note-books as to various points connected with the question:—Women's drinking: evidence as to its increase among all classes: the increased and respectable uses made of public-houses by young women. The question of sending children to fetch drink: general opinion that it did not demoralize the children, and very doubtful if the change of law in any way reduces the facilities for procuring drink: possibly better that children should go than young women or wives. Whether people drink less or not, police agree that there is less rowdiness: also great improvement in the publican. Drunkenness that occurs not so serious an evil as the impoverishment caused even by moderate drinking: evidence as to enormous proportion of earnings spent in drink: drinking increases with increased wages and at holiday seasons. What the working classes drink. Evidence as to connection of poverty which seeks charitable relief with drink: but drink cannot be isolated as a cause of poverty: only as the accompaniment of idleness, extravagance, incompetence, or ill health is it fatal. More evidence from our notes: a terrible story told by a City missionary: drinking trades. Excuses offered for the drinking habit: poor victuals and bad cooking: discomfort of the home: necessity for solace and amusement: drink often the only mental stimulus of the poor: women drink as refuge from worry. Teetotalism apt to become a cult, but Christian people nearly all temperate and thrifty. pp. 59-75.

Sec. v. Clubs.—(1) For working men. In first volume account given of East End clubs in 1888: the dangers pointed out then have not been successfully avoided: clubs with philanthropic or religious aim have failed: independent clubs, while maintaining their independence, have suffered in character: the consensus of condemnation from our witnesses very strong: evidence on this point. Failure of men's clubs conducted under religious influence as a step towards church-going, and their tendency to get out of hand morally: to attain success on these lines strict supervision necessary: it is said that working men, and even the class above, have not the self-restraint necessary for self-management. pp. 75-79.

(2) Boys' clubs: the majority connected with religious organizations, and all who conduct them imbued with deep religious feeling. Difficulty as to age limit: necessary to group boys according to their years. Clubs formed from "old boys" from some Board school. p. 79.

(3) Girls' clubs a more important social movement, and more independent of religious organization. The Girls' Club Union: Miss Stanley and her club, a model of successful management. All clubs aim at classes of some kind, but recreation the principal object: success due to co-operation of ladies. Marked need for such clubs: girls apt to deteriorate very rapidly after childhood without some help of this kind: their extreme impressionability. Both in girls' and boys' clubs improvement often so great that rough ones will not join: a rising standard a constant difficulty: no solution but a new club for the rough ones. Clubs lead to some postponement of marriage. pp. 79-81.

Sec. vi. Minor Notes.—Illustrations from our note-books as to habits of the people:—

1. Money Matters: (*a*) Pawnbrokers; (*b*) Money Lending; (*c*) The Tallyman; (*d*) Costermongers. pp. 81-83.
2. Industrial Questions: fourteen extracts. pp. 83-86.
3. Resources of the Poor; five extracts. p. 86.
4. Ways of Life: twenty-four extracts. pp. 86-91.

Sec. vii. Economic Conditions of Life.—Economic life depends on keeping a due balance between certain aims, such as earning, saving and spending. Modern civilization demands a large quota of possessions per head, and its advance in a luxurious and self-indulgent age, is based on their increase. But those who accumulate property serve the rest: on the provision of capital in some hands all depend. Desirable that the function of replenishing and increasing the common stock should be widely spread, but this is so, mainly because of the special value to the individual holder of his own savings: to the majority without capital it matters not who provides it: the part of some to earn and spare, of others to earn and spend: all should earn, but to spend is as essential as to spare. This view instinctive in the people: the working classes adopt the right principle of spending freely without any great effort at saving: they aim at an average subsistence. The question at stake is not whether it is wiser to spend their money rather than to save it, but *how* they spend it. With the very poor the principle is the same: but for them a special difficulty: if they save to establish an average subsistence, daily expenditure may fall below subsistence point. With the settled rich also their true function is to spend rather than save, though they must learn to spare as well as spend. Their saving is not so much for the sake of accumulation as to maintain an average: with the working classes the object is to render irregularity of income equal to the calls of a regular expenditure, with the rich to make a comparatively fixed income meet the claims of a varying expenditure. It is on the class between that the task of accumulation devolves: the main object of their lives is money making: the motive is mostly good, and is ultimately individual desire for advancement, but this assumes many secondary forms. The faculty needed is far-sightedness: and the qualities required are patience, persistence, and a readiness for self-sacrifice. Whatever delinquencies result, the service to the community is great: without this service we should starve. Fortunately the passion for acquisition and advancement is strong, and comes to have a life of its own: it needs the curb, but is a strong beast and pulls our waggon. The danger to individuals if they misinterpret or neglect their true economic function. pp. 92-96.

PART III. NOTES ON ADMINISTRATION. pp. 97-199.

Sec. i. Public-houses and Licensing.—Patent signs of prosperity in drink trade in recent years: enormous rise of value in public-houses: reasons for this given by a successful publican. The economic explanation to be found in the struggle for predominance among the great brewers, and the social changes in the habits of the people rather than in an abnormal increase in consumption. The advance in values overdone: some say a 'slump' has set in: but if monopoly is maintained reaction would only be slight. Futility of policy of making grant of new licence or permission to enlarge old premises dependent on surrender of some licence that is no longer needed. pp. 97-99.

Even where number of houses has decreased bar accommodation has increased: object of publican to separate the classes for whom he caters: this done by style in which drink is served and by quality and price: the

people sort themselves. 'Roughness' mainly due to connections and surroundings of house rather than management, but order depends immediately on management. Publicans, especially in small houses, generally of same class as customers. Every house has its nucleus of regular customers, who in beer-houses sometimes exclude all others: an instance of this. Character of beer-houses varies greatly: some practically the clubs of labourers, but slum beer-houses, as a class, the least reputable of licensed houses, and beer-houses generally the mark of a poor neighbourhood: there are too many of them in such districts, and it is difficult for all to exist under reputable management. pp. 99-102.

Changes which occur with regard to reducing licences or the enlargement of existing houses are not regulated in the best interests of the public: public opinion vacillating and contradictory, and licensing authorities lack conviction and courage. Special value of licences due solely to monopoly: difficulty in dealing with this monopoly largely due to disagreement between the extreme teetotal party and those who wish for reform rather than prohibition: this has been fatal to legislative interference and administrative control. pp. 102-103.

Special points of difficulty in management as reported by the police and others: the question of serving drunken men: the law reported to be 'practically a dead letter': extreme difficulty of administration: not easy to define drunkenness, and in any case in public-house often impossible to detect: drink affects different individuals in different ways. Police agree that publicans do not wish to break the law, but it is frequently broken: evidence of inspector and superintendents: difficulty of obtaining convictions even if men are charged: causes of this difficulty: it can only be met by a gradual stringing up of the whole standard of respectability in the trade: the law as to licensing is strong enough to exercise steady pressure against rowdy conduct and heavy drinking, and might be usefully strengthened. Various views as to effect of merely reducing number of licences: generally held that temptation would be decreased. Amount of actual drunkenness prevalent is likely to depend on character of accommodation rather than number of houses: in this respect increase of size in houses has been advantageous as leading to introduction of higher class of managers, and greater sense of responsibility. pp. 104-108.

Marked failure of temperance propaganda: evidence as to this: value of such success as is achieved is often questioned. But religious bodies earn an easy success in this respect with children, though doubtful if influence lasts: but admitted that there is a larger section of convinced teetotalers than formerly. pp. 108-110.

The system on which licences are granted is from many causes the battle-field of contending forces. Questions of management, size, structural arrangements, hours of supply, and wholesomeness of liquor, have far more effect on habits of people than number and frequency of houses: practically all these points come before licensing authority. The ideal should be to improve the conditions under which drink is supplied: the standard of propriety and respectability in licensed houses should equal or rise above that of the home: this practically attained in all other places of public resort, even in many cases where alcohol is served: disorderly conduct in licensed houses mainly due to way in which alcohol is purveyed: licensing authority should devote its attention to this, leaving to others the preaching of economy and temperance, though these may be largely furthered by law and administration. pp. 111-113.

Errors of past administration caused mainly by weakness and lack of principle due to contention and vacillation. Stronger and more vital authority needed: suggestion that it should be small committee of London County Council, assisted by assessors, with similar system in the country.

Whatever central legislation was required would spring naturally from this system, and would probably be directed to (1) extra rating of values created by granting of licences; (2) placing of clubs under same restrictions as public-houses; (3) hours of supply; (4) avoidance of penalizing by taxation the supply of drinks which contain little alcohol; (5) municipal ownership of licensed houses. pp. 113-115.

The question of hours: in London are longer than elsewhere: no need for this exception: should be eleven o'clock on week nights, with special consideration to those houses which close at ten. Some now close earlier voluntarily. Effects of earlier closing in Penge. Sunday closing: if entire, must apply to clubs also: possibly Sunday trade might be more desirably done on the 'off' principle. Hours of opening: few open at five: early drams of rum with hot milk or coffee. Difficulty of enforcing laws as to hours: illegal Sunday trade and late tradesmen. The five ordinary kinds of licences. Accompanying the book is a map of the inner and eastern portions of London, showing churches, schools and licensed houses: object to give at glance impression of the ubiquitous and manifold character of three most important influences. pp. 115-120.

Sec. ii. Prostitution.—Prostitution is entirely open to legislative and philanthropic interference, but continues unchecked: this not due to lack of effort at suppression. The various shapes the evil assumes: it is strictly professional: men of every class served, and the women may be classified accordingly. Importance of distinction between women who take men to their own homes or a 'brothel,' and those who use 'houses of accommodation.' How the women are protected: the house mistress and the 'chucker out': the 'bully.' Fashionable brothels: solely West-End institutions and not numerous. Less fashionable but mostly West-End houses more numerous: frequently prosecuted and closed, but open again somewhere near: each house has regular connection besides those brought in casually: finance of the business: girls of class similar to those in these houses often live in lodgings and use houses of accommodation. Descending scale in which organized brothels play a decreasing part represented by locality and class and age of women. Occasional or semi-professional prostitution. Professionalism, which is growing stronger, militates against rescue work. Self-condemnation or sense of sin rare among the women, but few are happy, though they are seldom prepared to take the only road of escape through a rescue home: evidence conclusive that they will not stand the hard work and discipline. pp. 121-127.

The object of vigilance committees is to put the law in motion, stimulate the police and local authorities, and stir up public opinion. The result of action shows the irrepressible character of the evil: it may change its shape but continues to exist: possibly wise to accept it as inevitable, and force it to take the least objectionable shapes. The brothel and public solicitation the most objectionable features, might be suppressed if houses of accommodation and habitual places of resort were not prosecuted, so long as outward decency and order were observed: proposal that this policy should be pursued: its probable effects. The use of back streets and open spaces: better lighting and patrolling and the closing of the latter the remedy. Contagious Diseases regulations: when applicable. pp. 127-131.

Sec. iii. Police and Crime.—Notes from our evidence as to the attitude of the police with regard to minor breaches of the law and disorder: adverse verdict from Bethnal Green and Battersea: and more favourable view from other witnesses. 'Testimonials' to officers of higher grade and general question of treating by publicans: this certainly

exists in various forms, though hardly to an extent that can be called bribery: but there seems to be some improvement in this matter, and the general opinion is that on the whole the police do their duty in spite of these abuses. pp. 132-135.

The hours of duty. The irksome nature of the duties. Pay. The practice in rough districts: policy to be too easy rather than too exacting: standard necessarily varies. Relations with working classes friendly and even with criminals not unfriendly: criminals flock together: lust their ruling passion: heroes to the young, but Hooliganism exaggerated, though real ground for complaint. Burglary and burglar stories. pp. 136-140.

Aim that police should keep in background except in case of real need: evidence on this point. Their principles and practice in maintaining order fully justified: as regards venality come out fairly well: but probably true that as police court witnesses they are too expert. General conclusion that their responsibilities are well met, and their power very rarely abused. pp. 140-142.

Sec. iv. The Organization of Charity.—The principles and practices of various Poor Law Unions differ more widely than is reasonable: the time is ripe for unification, especially as those who actively administer the law learn by experience to differ less than those who elect them. The general drift of experience is in the direction of co-ordinating the efforts of official and voluntary relief. pp. 142-143.

Old Age Pensions: recapitulation of plan proposed in *Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor—a Proposal*: objections met. pp. 143-150.

Three proposals made in this section:—(1) An extension of the system of a common Poor Fund, subject to agreement as to the principles of administration. (2) Consultation between Boards of Guardians and charitable agencies as to relief, and a distinct recognition of their respective spheres. (3) Old Age Pensions, coupled with the then practicable abolition of out-relief. p. 150.

Sec. v. Hospitals and Nursing.—1. *Hospitals.*—Hospitals have three distinct claims to public recognition—as great foundations, as centres of medical treatment, and as schools: they might reasonably have three forms of financial resource—endowment as great public institutions in which disease and accident can obtain skilled assistance, payment by patients assisted by annual subscriptions and collections for the cost of current treatment, and a public grant as schools, the same division of responsibility being reflected in the management. Some such scheme might postpone the demand for a hospital rate. pp. 150-153.

2. *Nursing.*—The change in the matter of nursing since Miss Nightingale first took the question up is perhaps the best fruit the past half century has to show: the direct influence on health is considerable, but the gradual educational influence greater. Quotation from a letter written by Miss Nightingale in 1896. pp. 154-155.

The parish not the only, nor for all purposes the best, unit for nursing organization. At present there are a comparatively small number of nursing centres surrounded by parishes, most of which send for a trained nurse when required: for highly skilled nursing this system is convenient and effective: but the work of these nurses should be strictly professional and not associated with religion or charity. Other duties, however, may fairly be performed by the parish or mission nurse for whom a lower standard of training is accepted: and, apart from this, the less professional nurse may be of greater value in a parish. The two systems might well be combined, the professional nurse leaning to some extent on the assistance of her less professional sister. pp. 155-157.

Sec. vi. Housing.—Undesirable housing conditions enumerated under twelve heads. Three parties with whom the responsibility rests. Remedial agencies and efforts enumerated under nine heads. pp. 158-159.

The Peabody and Guinness Trusts and other similar capitalist organizations: their development hindered by (1) cost of sites, (2) municipal competition, and (3) pressure of rates. pp. 159-160.

Notes from our evidence as to twelve heads of undesirable housing conditions:—(1) *Old property in bad condition:* bad working of leasehold system in its closing years: evil results when property is bought bit by bit for some ultimate use, as by railways: no avoidable expense will be incurred. When such property is to be rebuilt, the old tenants must leave and a different class will come to the improved houses: therefore little advantage to those displaced: improvement for these people and their homes must be concurrent. (2) *Comparatively new houses badly built:* evidence on this point: their demoralizing effect far greater than worst old property: no cure for the causes of this but stern punishment of those responsible. (3) *Property neglected by the owner:* even where there is effective ownership there are frequent complaints on this head: marked difference according to the character of the ownership: small landlords generally have a bad name, and large resident landlords better than absentees, but much depends on the agent: the actual owner should be accounted responsible. (4) *Property abused by the occupier:* endless stories of the destructive ways of the lowest class, and of the impossibility of coping with them. (5) *Houses built upon insufficient space:* the most insidious form of short-sighted greediness. (6) *Houses erected on damp or rubbish-filled ground:* much said as to this locally: *e.g.*, valleys of Lea and Wandle. (7) *Houses occupied by families of a class for which they were not designed and are not suited:* reasons for this happening: great difference between good old houses deserted by fashion, and jerry-built houses rejected from the first: a well-thought-out scheme of adaptation essential. (8) *Insanitary houses:* responsibility shared between owner, occupier, and local authority: public must see that local authority is kept up to the mark. (9) and (10) *Badly arranged block dwellings and badly managed blocks:* quotations from our notes bearing on construction and management refer mostly to the drawbacks. The work of Miss Octavia Hill, Miss Cons, and others: the appeal not to philanthropic sentiment but to duty: economically the principles are sound. The plan is to make use of and improve the personal relations that can be based on the collecting of rent: there must be reciprocal performance of duties and obligations. System depends on training of educated women as rent collectors, and on careful superintendence. (11) *Excessive rents:* rents rising everywhere: overwhelming evidence as to this. (12) *Crowded homes:* evidence from our notes on this point. pp. 160-173.

Municipalities and other local bodies will have to learn by experience the limits of successful action. Something has been done by more effective administration to introduce a higher standard, especially as regards crowding: but in places it has become worse: there can be no cure that does not include expansion: at present authorities dare not enforce the law stringently. Benefit of improvement schemes in crowded areas indirect and uncertain, and cost enormous. pp. 173-176.

Quotations from our evidence as to the kind of houses most in demand. Peabody and other good block dwellings always full. Guinness blocks aim at a poorer class and with success. But what the people want is good two-storeyed cottages, though each floor may be a home. Demand for new houses rather than old: lower buildings and wider streets the need: demand for better house fittings, artistic surroundings, and gardens. Speculative builders should recognise the money value that lies in individuality. pp. 177-178.

Sec. vii. Expansion.—City life singularly behindhand in mobility: but owing largely to improved methods of application of mechanical force, great possibilities are opening out for re-organization of urban life within itself and in its relations with surrounding country. Four ultimate causes of insufficiency, badness, and dearness of housing accommodation in London: the causes of pressure are resultants of prosperity, and there is no permanent or economic difficulty in dealing with the inter-connected evils of overcrowding. The absorption of space for industrial purposes not necessarily an increasing factor, and at centre decreasing: greater space and lower rent attract to suburbs: but with easier communication movement of industries becomes more possible and less necessary: adjustment becomes more free. But there is always an increasing demand at the centre for room for transit and distribution, and for the supply of the daily wants of life. The difficulties in the way of improving means of locomotion decrease as London increases: comparative expense becomes smaller, and bolder engineering expedients more possible: arrangement and uses of streets will tend to be further specialized. pp. 179-182.

The cause and key of explanation of the way in which London expands now found in the available means of communication: their extension, with improvements in speed and cost, the first and essential step towards solution of housing problem: importance of the new Royal Commission. The four other more direct methods proposed of dealing with the problem: (1) Regulations against overcrowding. (2) Demolition and reconstruction in special cases. (3) Obligation to rehouse when Parliamentary powers are obtained for acquiring sites for any purpose. (4) Acquisition by public authorities of vacant land for construction of dwellings. Action in these directions half-hearted: reasons why this is so. pp. 183-186.

The proposal for the extension and improvement of means of locomotion developed. Limiting conditions are time and cost of transit and rent: people will move if given a fair chance: no difficulty from engineering point of view if plan sufficiently thought out. Probably four distinct systems: (1) The present Metropolitan and District railways. (2) Tube railways. (3) Surface and sub-surface tramways. (4) Motor omnibuses. If possible should be single maximum fares for all distances and compound journeys. Essential that lines should be made in advance of traffic and that no district should be neglected, and if necessary public authority must step in to secure this. By avoidance of delay, frequency of departure, certainty of connection and increased speed, time measure of distance in London might be halved. Rent: no agency can supply the houses needed without private enterprise: rents therefore must be remunerative: but no reason to doubt that they would be. The evils of a congested city population cannot be cured by a policy of what is practically *laissez faire*, and few propose it: question is as to method of public interference: if corporate efforts are confined to improvement of means of communication private enterprise would provide all the houses needed. pp. 186-190.

This policy would be greatly assisted by some readjustment in the incidence of rating: the present system of collecting rates on the total value of land and buildings together exercises a most adverse influence on building enterprise: not the amount levied but plan of assessment which does the mischief: a better system would be to base assessment on "site values" only. Under present system capital invested in building is taxed about twenty-five per cent.: if "site value" system adopted owners would no longer be penalized for building. The proposal developed: the change advocated is an adjustment as to the incidence of taxation between various properties in accordance with the proportionate value represented in each case by land and buildings respectively: some property holders would

suffer while others would gain. Tables of present assessment of three classes of property and suggested site value assessment of same property, showing how the system would work in practice. The result would be a transfer of rateable liability all over London from the less developed to the more completely developed parts. Effect on rents and building: *Rents:* contracts, past or future, should not be interfered with: rent and terms of agreement would be settled by bargain: where site value is high, tenant may be able to throw onus of extra rate on landlord: where site value is small, either owner or occupier might secure benefit of reduced assessment. *Building:* if building were no longer penalized as under present system, property carrying high site value could be kept unimproved only to a small extent and for a short time while awaiting its market. Reader referred for details to evidence before Royal Commission on Local Taxation, and its Minority Report. Some objections met and advantages pointed out: in the majority of cases the change of incidence would not be serious: an immediate premium would be put on enterprise, and whole community as well as owners would profit: central charges on property more heavily rated would tend to be lightened: future increase in site values might be specially taxed under a periodical re-valuation: the change might be adopted gradually. Objection is made that better means of communication would foster centralization: but in many ways it would have the opposite result: local centres are constantly forming. Dangers in the rapid extension of streets and houses to be met by the setting apart in advance of sufficient parks and open spaces. The crying necessity for forethought. pp. 190-199.

PART IV. CONCLUSION. pp. 200-215.

Sec. i. Things as they are and as they move.—A summing up of results: improvement at every point: but the gulf is still wide which separates the poor from the degree of comfort which civilization calls for. Two great tasks before us:—(1) to raise the general level of existence, but especially the bottom level: (2) to increase the proportion of those who know how to use aright the means they have. Each effort should aid the other. Compulsory education, though not so successful as hoped, has done much for amelioration. Religious work also suffers under great disappointments, though far from being acknowledged or even fully felt. Religious bodies will probably incline more to intensive work. Progressive administration has many failures before it, but success in some unexpected shape may finally be won, and the effort to attain it will do good. Industry, in spite of disappointments, full of power and vigour to wipe out mistakes. Connected with the vitality and expansion of industry we trace the advancement of the individual: the advent of a new middle class the great social fact of to-day. pp. 200-204.

Sec ii. Further needs.—Structural expansion is the first need: the further need, which includes everything else, is the mental expansion which will make full use of opportunities. Present tendency for better-to-do classes to fly furthest off, with result that residential London tends to be arranged by class in rings, with most uniform poverty at centre. With improved means of communication many other influences, besides mere flight, become effective, and the balancing of alternative attractions of centre and suburb will be more common. Mental expansion needed to ensure supply of competitive advantages in each district. More vigorous life needed in every direction—social, educational, industrial, political, and religious. With freer movement and better homes, people will become more responsive to all ameliorative

effort: this will spread downwards until it may be possible to enforce a higher standard of existence among the lowest: recapitulation of argument in favour of establishment of industrial communities lying midway between pauperism and independence. Many efforts must converge, but the unchanging principle of action must be to interfere by administrative action and penalties at each point at which life falls below a minimum accepted standard, while offering every opportunity for improvement. Suggestion reverted to, that owners of houses used for industrial purposes should be made legally liable if improper conditions prevail. pp. 204-210.

Sec. iii. The Road and its difficulties.—Improvement must be sought first of all in individual responsibility, which should rest on right feeling, stimulated by public opinion and law: of these public opinion is the most lax: the ready acceptance of a low standard the great difficulty in our way: moral laxity applies to all classes. Individual sense of duty, though weakened by laxity of public opinion, is at a higher level than generally thought: thus law, if carefully aimed, is especially valuable in checking the evil doer, awakening the individual conscience, and impressing its seal of condemnation on any particular offence: it cannot go far beyond public opinion, but may lead the way. Points in which individual responsibility may be strengthened by legal enactment. pp. 210-212.

The second difficulty is the improvement of corporate responsibility: even more than individuals, corporations need to be humanized by the influence of public opinion. Political, philanthropic and religious associations are the most zealous agents of advancement: but their zeal, which is for each organization its greatest strength, engenders hostility to all other effort. To find a fulcrum which shall neither be nor involve hate, the greatest difficulty of all. Administration at present in experimental stage, and experience alone can show what shapes collective action may wisely take. Facts still needed. pp. 212-214.

Incompleteness of this work: important subjects omitted. Object, to describe London as it appeared in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Beyond this, an attempt is made to show what is being done for amelioration, and to indicate some directions for advance. pp. 214-216.

APPENDIX to Final Volume.—Table I. London Churches and Missions. Table II. Licensed Houses in London. Table III. London Elementary Schools. pp. 219-224.

INDEX to Final Volume.

MAP showing Places of Worship, Schools, and Licensed Houses in Inner and East London.

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